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ABSTRACT

Articles previously published in "Today's Education" and in other publications produced by professional organizations in the NEA Center are reproduced in this book. The collection presents a description and analysis of current student needs. The six sections of the book are: (1) The Early Environment (suggestions for parents and teachers on how to improve the impact of early environment); (2) The Learning Process (insights into how children learn and related teacher behavior); (3) Mental Health and Personality (reasons for enlarging the concept of student success to include mental health and personality development); (4) Conflict and Growth (expression of dissent toward school practices and its implications); (5) Respecting Differences (alternative help strategies for working with minority youngsters); and (6) Goals for Education (objectives of the future school). A total of 54 authors are represented in the book. (DB)

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ELEMENTARY EDUCATION TODAY

ITS IMPACT ON CHILDREN

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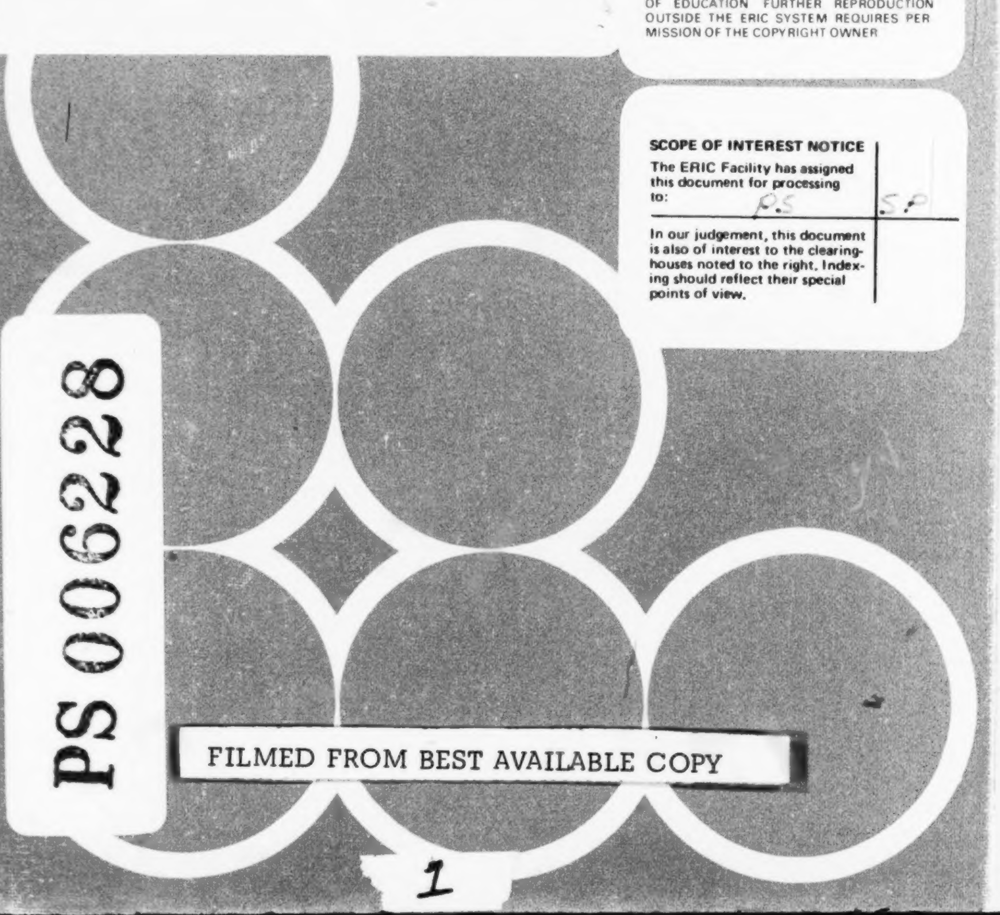

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ITS IMPACT ON CHILDREN

Selected and Edited by
Robert D. Strom and Mary Elizabeth Bell
for the
American Association of
Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators
A National Affiliate of the
National Education Association

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Foreword

Today's elementary school, like other institutions in our society, is a target for criticism and a center of crisis. The dream of our public education leaders has yet to become a reality for all our nation's children. There is still much that must be done before the magnificent experiment of educating all children of all people can be labeled a success.

In 1971, however, there appears to be more talk of alternatives to our public education system and a greater demand for accountability than during recent years. Elementary educators are being asked to justify their actions by taxpayers who appear to have lost confidence in the positive impact of public schools on the lives of their children.

Are things as bad as they seem or is the prevailing attitude of suspicion the result of misinformation and lack of communication? Is there a crisis in our society which is causing us to reexamine all its aspects — including our elementary schools? What is elementary education really like today? Is it meeting the needs of all our children? What should be done in the future to make it better?

To help us answer these questions, the American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators invited Mary Elizabeth Bell and Robert D. Strom of Arizona State University and a committee of professionals from throughout the United States to select articles from *Today's Education* and other publications produced by professional organizations housed at the NEA Center which illustrate the current scene and give direction for the future. The result is *Elementary Education Today: Its Impact on Children*, an up-to-date look at the process of elementary education and how well this process is meeting current student needs.

It is hoped that *Elementary Education Today: Its Impact on Children* will be a source of information and inspiration to present and future classroom teachers, supervisors, administrators, teacher educators, parents, and others interested in maintaining our system of public education.

Margaret S. Woods, *president*
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1970-71

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Preface

Since greater understanding of human development makes for better teaching, this collection of articles presents a description and analysis of current student needs. Respectively the six sections offer: (1) suggestions for parents and teachers on how to improve the impact of early environment; (2) insights into how children learn and related teacher behavior; (3) reasons for enlarging the concept of student success to include mental health and personality development; (4) expression of dissent toward school practices and its implications; (5) alternative help strategies for working with minority youngsters; and (6) objectives of the future school.

Following the selection and organization of these articles, the editors were guided by reactions from a national panel consisting of classroom teachers, principals, supervisors, curriculum coordinators, state department officials, and professors of education. We are indebted for the helpful suggestions given by Mary Cannon, supervisor of instruction, Paris, Tenn.; Jean Cashion, kindergarten teacher, Bridgeton, Mo.; James Larson, elementary principal, Sheboygan, Wisc.; Myrtice Larson, curriculum coordinator, Arlington, Tex.; Virginia Plunkett, state department consultant, Denver, Colo.; Ruth Springer, second-grade teacher, Cheyenne, Wyo.; Beverly White, professor of education, Southeastern Louisiana College, Hammond; and Margaret Woods, associate professor of education, Seattle Pacific College, Seattle, Wash. We wish to acknowledge the guidance and support of Robert Gilstrap, executive secretary for the American Association of Elementary-Kindergarten-Nursery Educators. Thanks is also due Shirley Strom for her review and clerical assistance. Each of us involved with *Elementary Education Today: Its Impact on Children* hopes for its success.

Robert D. Strom and
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Scottsdale, Arizona
February 1971

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THE EARLY ENVIRONMENT

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Why Programs for Young Children?

James L. Hymes, Jr.

WE SAY we want programs for young children, but why do we want them? What do we expect them to accomplish? What will the children gain from them? How will having such programs help all the rest of us? Narrow answers to these questions too often lead us to little efforts — and in the wrong directions.

Why nursery schools and kindergartens? Too quickly the answer comes: "To prepare children for the first grade." But if the children are in nursery schools or kindergartens, nursery school or kindergarten *is* the first grade. And the fourth or fifth year of life is as worthy as the sixth year of life. There is no need for "prep" schools, no need for boot camps, certainly no need at this early stage in life to give up today for the sake of tomorrow.

"Preparing children for the first grade" is not a reason. First grade teachers have the same job every teacher faces: to work with the children who come, to work with them as they are. Each grouping has its children and each, its job to do. But preparation — breaking them in, getting them ready, softening them up — is not the job of any one grade. It's not the job of first grade to get them ready for second grade, not the job of kindergarten to get them ready for the first, not the job of nursery school to get them ready for kindergarten. This is a needless, dead-end, and even an indecent way of thinking about any year of life.

Why early childhood programs? Too quickly the answer comes: "To teach reading readiness." But if the program is worth its salt, it isn't teaching reading *readiness* — it is teaching reading! It is teaching as much reading as every individual child is ready for, and it is teaching that reading in ways appropriate for that child's development. It is teaching more than reading. It is teaching science — not science "readiness." And it is teaching mathematics and art and music and the social studies. It is teaching all the fields of human knowledge, as every school of general education must, in ways that will make these fields of knowledge important and real and meaningful and useful to its students.

To isolate one area of human experience — reading — and make it the kingpin is to turn the early childhood program away from general, humane, liberal arts education and to change these early years of life into narrow, limited, technical "trade schools" for young children. To distort this one area of human experience into some utterly artificial, pseudo area of knowledge, "reading readiness," is to open the door to insipid workbooks — anti-intellectual in their content, adult-dominated in their method, narrow and barren in their yield.

Learning to read is a continuous process. All children start on this process long before they come to kindergarten, long before they come to nursery school. The language the child speaks is a part of this process. The solid knowledge he has is a part of this process. The skills he develops in reading are a part of this process. The development of his powers of observation is a part of it, as are his careful listening, his attention to detail, and his interest in ideas.

No child ever learns to read in the first grade; he only learns his first-grade's worth. He learns more about reading (and more about science and mathematics and the humanities and the social studies) in the fourth grade and junior high and high school and college. No child starts life in nursery school or kindergarten, nor does his readiness start here. Each year — in its own way, functionally, appropriately — capitalizes on all the readiness the child has at the time so that he makes the greatest progress he can at the time — and always, if it is general education and not a trade school, in all the fields of human learning, not in one field, isolated and set apart.

Why nursery school or kindergarten? Too quickly the answer comes: "To socialize the child." Sadly this must frequently be translated to mean: to teach him the little ways that will make him easier to live with in first grade. A true, sound, healthy socialization is probably one of the greatest needs of the human race. If this were the actual goal, one could quarrel less with it, although one would have to stress the same truth that applies to reading: A four- or five-year-old can only learn a four- or five-year-old's worth. But there is no great new humane concern with the quality and satisfaction of our living together. Socialization means "first grade socialization": Raise your hand before talking and don't talk too loud, walk on your tiptoes and don't ever run, sit quietly in your seat and mind your own business.

Too often the worst of first grade — the living that is inappropriate for sixes — seeps down most quickly and is imposed on fives and fours: *Be obedient. Be conforming. Don't feel emotion and don't show it if you do. Follow the crowd and stay in line.* These are unworthy goals. If sixes really have to learn these rules to get along, they are frighteningly easy to learn. Clearly, neither nursery school nor kindergarten has to be given over to the likes of this.

But even a broader, more thoughtful concept of the kind of socialization humans need today is not in itself the reason for early programs. Productive, constructive socialization may be one of the goals — it cannot be the *only* goal. A good nursery or kindergarten program seeks to promote the maximum social development of each child. It equally seeks to promote his physical development, his intellectual development, his emotional maturity. It is not designed to deal with one separate slice of the human: the cognitive slice, the physical slice, the social slice. The good nursery or kindergarten recognizes the wholeness of human beings and the inevitable, inescapable integration in human behavior of all facets of the person: his knowledge, his feelings about himself and about others, his body, his brain, and his heart.

A good nursery or kindergarten is a school. Because it seeks to promote the child's maximum total development through the school's special province — learning — its job is the same as the job of all schools: to teach.

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We have programs for young children because fours and fives are fully ready to learn if we will but have the wisdom and the sensitivity to adjust the ways of teaching to fit them. But no good school is concerned with learning for learning's sake. Nor are the liberal arts or the 3 R's or however one wants to categorize human knowledge ends in themselves. We work through learning; we work through knowledge. These are our particular approaches, but the goals of early childhood education — the ultimate reason why we use these approaches — are something more.

We teach the young child to live these early years of his life with more joy, with more meaning, with more purpose, with more satisfaction. We have these programs so that the individual youngster can function with more freedom and ease and zest — being true to himself, using his powers, being his best. Responsibility to the individual is a moral imperative of early childhood education. The joy that school brings to the child's life, the sense of fulfillment, is the prime standard by which to judge a program.

This one basic goal sets the pace for the quality of the adult-child relationship, of child-to-child relationships, of space and materials, and of methods and content. If these relationships do not add up to a tingling sense of vigorous living within the youngster, a fundamental point has been lost, no matter what other gains may seem to show up on any tests.

But schools — nurseries and kindergartens — are not for the individual alone. Schools are society's insurance policy. We rely on them to ensure that our world will become an ever better place. As we seek to cultivate and nurture the best quality of the child's living *now*, at this moment in his life, we must simultaneously seek to build those human qualities that will continue to make the child good for all of us to live with.

Although we cannot spell out all that we must treasure and nurture and rebuild in each new generation if our living together is to become mutually supportive rather than destructive, we can certainly agree on at least the start of a list of those humans whose qualities we prize: people who know and value freedom; those who have a heart and who are generous and caring in their relationships; knowing people, wise, informed, curious, in love with the wonder of the world and enchanted with solving its mysteries; people who are individualists, who are different, who are a joy to know and work and live with because of their special ways.

The second major goal from the standpoint of the rest of us — from the standpoint of society — is to have the child begin to breathe in the air of the best of human society, the healthiest form of human association that a teacher's finest dreams can devise.

A nursery or kindergarten is a child's little world, his first step out into the wider world. It is a school of general education where children learn their year's worth of all the forms of human knowledge, but they learn it in a setting and in a way and through relationships and to the end that they are moved a little toward those qualities of the human on which the good life itself depends.

The Rationale for Early Intervention

Bettye M. Caldwell

ACCORDING to Kessen (1965), scientific interest in the young child was a legacy of the attempt to link psychology with evolutionary biology. The nature of man was to be apprehended by a study of his origins in early infancy rather than by a meticulous analysis of his functioning as an adult. Some of the early publishers of observational biographies (Darwin, 1877; Preyer, 1888) clearly exemplified this point of view. The developing theory of psychoanalysis led Freud (1905) to be concerned with infants, but his method of study — anamnestic recall by adults — precluded direct study of the child during these theoretically important years. In his only published venture about the application of psychoanalysis to the problems of a child, Freud (1909) did not see the child but worked vicariously through the father.

The most significant early influences came directly from the educational pioneers of Europe — Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Seguin, Montessori, and Rachel and Margaret McMillan (see Ulich, 1945). The efforts of America's most catholic and catalytic child psychologist, G. Stanley Hall, were instrumented in helping to import the ideas of the kindergarten movement. In 1895 he organized a symposium to be devoted to problems of kindergarten education, and, in a tour de force of nondiplomacy, so angered the participants with his criticisms of Froebel that 33 of the 35 in attendance walked out of the meeting (Hill, 1941). However, the antagonism and activity generated by the meeting had a major impact on educational planners of the era. By the early twenties kindergartens and university based nursery schools were no longer rarities, albeit still stepchildren of formal education. "Preschools" they were called, in a semantic insult even now not eradicated. But these early education programs remained the darlings of a few prestigious departments of child study (i.e., Iowa, California, Minnesota, Vassar), perhaps less because of their presumed benefits to the children than because of the contributions they could make to understanding how children develop. Claims regarding the potential value of such experiences for the intellectual development of young children were ironically associated with their decline in status. Vitriolic attacks upon a series of research investigations that have come to be referred to disparagingly as "the Iowa studies" (see especially McNemar, 1940) eventually caused the preschool advocates to slip silently away to lick their wounds and to dream of apologies for their existence. Programs continued, but those in the universities operated to provide subjects for research studies and to train teachers.

Then suddenly in the mid-sixties — probably it can be officially dated as February, 1965, the month when Head Start was born — early childhood was rediscovered. Perhaps early childhood was not so much rediscovered (as countless new book titles announce) as simply no longer overlooked.

Inferential Rationale for the Current Interest in Early Childhood

An inferential rationale is an idea generated in another context, sometimes bearing no apparent relation to early intervention, from which one can infer the importance of early intervention. At least three of these can be identified.

Animal Studies on the Effects of Early Experience. For three or more decades biologists and psychologists have researched the effects of experience upon development. In some instances the studies were not based on any prior conviction about the importance of early experience but rather on an interest in whether and to what extent certain kinds of experience had any effect. Such research is often concerned with the relative effects of maturation and learning (or heredity versus environment). However, in many studies the results directed attention to the timing of as well as the type of experience.

A few illustrative studies will be cited to demonstrate the contribution of this line of research to the current concern with early cognitive stimulation. The studies have used as dependent variables a variety of behaviors, including sensory, perceptual, and motor functions, learning and problem solving, and complex forms of social behavior.

For example, using performance on the Hebb-Williams (1946) tests of animal intelligence, Thompson and Heron (1954) examined the effects of being reared under varying conditions of social deprivation. Working with Scottish terriers, they arranged for three different degrees of deprivation in 13 dogs: two were raised in complete isolation and encountered neither dogs nor humans from weaning until 8 months of age; eight were reared in cages in which they could hear and smell but could not see other dogs or humans and in which they had restricted light; and three were deprived only insofar as any or all laboratory animals are deprived. The 13 animals used as controls were reared as ordinary house pets. On all measures the deprived animals made more errors than the dogs reared as pets, even though the testing was done some 4 months after the termination of deprivation. The two groups of dogs also showed significant differences on problems which required a delayed response and on tasks which required modification of a previously acquired technique of problem solving.

The evidence on the effects of deprivation during early life upon learning ability in primates is not clear cut. In monkeys, for example, Roland (1964) and Mason and Fitz-Gerald (1962) have claimed to find no differences between isolates and controls in discrimination learning tasks. However, in these studies the deprived animals were described as being extremely resistant to placement in the apparatus and as requiring many adaptations before learning studies could proceed. These behaviors themselves represent significant distortions. Beach (1966) found that chimps reared in laboratories tended to be "brighter" than chimpanzees growing up in nature, with "home reared" chimps appearing as geniuses by comparison. The chimpanzee reared by a family almost as though it were another of their own children (Hayes, 1951) tended to outstrip any described performance of chimpanzees either in nature or the laboratory. Such studies suggest that early experience does indeed have a profound effect on primates either in the sense of retarding or accelerating development by the manipulation of certain critical experiences.

The animal literature suggests that the critical time for the manipulation of experiences is during the early infancy of the animals under study. With nonhuman animals, timing may be important because most complex forms of behavior are mediated by intrinsic processes which, when fully developed, are relatively less sensitive to variations in experience. However, data also indicate the importance of experience during the time that neural patterns which form the substrata for all complex forms of behavior are being established.

Development Studies of Children Reared in Different Environments. Differences on most cognitive variables can be demonstrated as a function of an early childhood spent in environments presumed to differ in the amount and quality of available stimulation. The most commonly used index of presumed environmental adequacy has been the socioeconomic status (SES) of the family. Computation of an SES index generally involves consideration of some combination of the variables of occupation, income, education, and area of residence. Although a designation of "low" status does not automatically guarantee a less than optimal early experience, at least some conditions inimical to development will be present. Whether measuring by general intelligence, school achievement, or laboratory learning procedures, one can generally demonstrate a deficit in performance associated with lower SES. For purposes of this discussion, the most crucial question is when this deficit appears.

Coleman (1966) found that as early as first grade most groups of children from lower SES backgrounds and most children representing minority groups tended to score significantly lower than the national average on most measures of school achievement and thus lower than children from high SES backgrounds. Deficits increased as children progressed through the typical school experience. This absolute increase in discrepancy between achievement and prediction for grade level led Deutsch (1960) to refer to the typical performance of disadvantaged children as reflecting a cumulative deficit.

But what about younger children? Data based on a large sample (1,409 children) were recently published by Bayley (1965) in the first presentation of information on the standardization of new Scales of Mental and Motor Development. At all assessment points up to 15 months of age, there were no significant differences as a function of sex, birth order, parental education, geographic residence, or race on the Mental Scale. Negro babies tended to score consistently higher than Caucasians on the Motor Scale, with the differences significant at most evaluative points up to 12 months but not significant thereafter. Later data from the larger study of which this standardization was a part will be instrumental in pinpointing the age at which differences begin to appear and the types of tasks on which the differences are most obvious.

A recent study by Golden and Birns (1968) suggested that the difference had not appeared by the age of two on test scores but that the full constellation of test behaviors (similar to those observed by Hertzig, Birch, Thomas, & Mendez, 1968) did reveal differences by that time. Using the Cattell Infant Intelligence

Scale (1940) and an experimental procedure designed to assess a child's achievement within the Piaget framework (Escalona & Corman, 1967), Golden and Birns examined three separate groups of Negro children 12, 18, and 24 months old. On neither test were statistically significant differences observed at any of the three age periods. However, the authors reported that children from the lower SES groups were far more difficult to test and often required more than one session to complete the procedures. Had the examiners not worked to get a valid score for each child, significant differences in mean scores might have appeared.

All the research summarized here points to the period of about 18 months to 3 years as the time at which significant differences in cognitive level and style begin to appear between children from relatively privileged and underprivileged backgrounds.

Along with attempts to discover just when in the life span differences associated with social class membership appear, recent research efforts have been devoted to an identification of features in the lower social class environment which might be causative factors. Caldwell (1967) stressed it is as important to measure the environment in which development is occurring as it is to measure the developmental processes themselves. Using an inventory which combines observation and interview to assess the environment, Caldwell (1967) showed that the lower class environment was by no means homogeneous and that magnitude of change in test scores during the first year of life was correlated with amount of support for development found within the home.

In several recent studies concerned with what might be called life styles (Wortis, Bardach, Cutler, & Freedman, 1963; Pavenstedt, 1965; Malone, 1966) the interpersonal and experiential environment of the lower class child has been found to involve disorganization to the point of chaos and hostility or indifference to developmental needs. While the environment did not always indicate lack of parental concern for the children, most of the parents (many of them unwed and with inadequate financial resources) were simply so overwhelmed with other problems that the entire child rearing process had to be subordinated to survival needs. Hess and Shipman (1965) analyzed behavior patterns of lower and middle class mothers and found significant differences in maternal language, in teaching styles in an experimental situation, and in strategies for controlling children who did not respond as expected. Although the damaging effects of physical aspects of the environment have not been ruled out as influential, processes of interpersonal transactions appear to be more potent and damaging (Dave, 1963; Wolf, 1964).

Major Conceptual Analyses of the Role of Experience in Development. Hunt (1961) attempted to survey research on the influence of experience on intelligence since psychology had been dominated too long by a belief in inheritance of fixed intelligence. As he put it, "Evidence from various sources has been forcing a recognition of central processes in intelligence and of the crucial role of life experience in the development of these central processes [p. v]." In his book Hunt presented evidence that would challenge the belief in fixed intelligence and predetermined development and offered a model of information processing which stressed the importance of experience for the development of the central organization of information necessary to solve problems. He also reviewed the thinking and meticulous experimental work of Piaget in terms of the ways in which experiences "program" the development of the human brain. For Hunt the implications were clear: Society should pay greater attention to what takes place in the lives of very young children and should stop leaving things to chance during this period. He stated:

> In the light of these considerations, it appears that the counsel from experts on child-rearing to let children be while they grow and to avoid excessive stimulation was highly unfortunate. . . . The problem for the management of child development is to find out how to govern the encounters that children have with their environments to foster both an optimally rapid rate of intellectual development and a satisfying life.
>
> Further, in the light of these theoretical considerations and the evidence concerning the effects of early experience on adult problem-solving in animals, it is no longer unreasonable to consider that it might be feasible to discover ways to govern the encounters that children have with their environments, especially during the early years of their development, to achieve a substantially faster rate of intellectual development and a substantially higher adult level of intellectual capacity [pp. 362-363].

A second scholar, Bloom (1964), studied all the available data published from a number of major longitudinal studies carried out over the last half century. His chief interest was identifying periods during which the characteristics under study were relatively stable and periods during which they were unstable and showed rapid change. After considering the data found relating to repeated measures of physical and personality characteristics, intelligence and achievement test data, Bloom concluded that "the introduction of the environment as a variable makes a major difference in our ability to predict the mature status of a human characteristic [p. 184]."

In calling attention to the impact of the environment, Bloom suggested that environment will have relatively more impact on a characteristic when that characteristic is undergoing relatively rapid change than when relatively little change is likely. Thus Bloom suggested that "in terms of intelligence measured at age 17, about 50 percent of the development takes place between conception and age 4, about 30 percent between ages 4 and 8, and about 20 percent between ages 8 and 17 [p. 88]."

Again the implications of this analysis are abundantly clear. If the environment can be presumed to have its greatest impact during roughly the first four years of life, careful attention to the development of growth fostering environments during this early period is essential. Furthermore, the analysis suggests that education may well have placed the emphasis at the wrong points in time. Whereas there are elaborate mechanisms providing education for older children, guidance of the growth and development of the very young child has been a casual venture.

This section should not be concluded without reference to the conceptual contribution offered by Bruner (1960). Although in the chronology of events it appeared earlier than the two books already discussed, it has been consciously saved for the final item. This was done because the Bruner book did not so much sound a tocsin about the importance of early experience as it offered encouragement that through education something could be done to improve the proper "environmental encounters" needed by the child. Bruner implied that certain rigidities about the proper age at which to introduce certain subjects had crept into the thinking and that possibly the whole issue of instructional timing and sequencing should be reexamined. One of his generalizations has become an aphorism: ". . . any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development [p. 33]." Although possibly misinterpreted and abused by subsequent zealots for early education. Bruner's optimistic formulation provided an encouraging challenge for the educational practitioners who were beginning to respond to the logic of the analyses offered by Hunt and Bloom.

By the middle of the sixties, no thinking person could ignore the importance of the first few years of life for subsequent developmental competence. A social mandate to give careful attention to the development of programs which would foster early cognitive development seemed only a step away.

Empirical Rationale for Early Childhood Education

On the basis of the criterion of frequency of citation in the scientific literature, one would be forced to conclude that two main research projects helped make the transition from the theoretical to the practical. Both projects dealt with exceptional (retarded) children.

Following the discovery that two infants transferred from an overcrowded orphanage to an institution for mentally retarded adolescent girls showed a spurt in development after the transfer, Skeels and Dye (1939) arranged an experiment in which retarded adolescent girls were used as "enrichers" for a larger group of 13 babies who were failing to thrive in the orphanage environment. At the time of transfer the babies were about 19 months old and had a mean IQ of 64. A contrasting group of 12 infants was found, averaging 16.6 months of age at the time of the first assessment of their abilities and having a mean IQ of 86.7. Thus the contrast infants did not appear to be as seriously damaged as the experimental group. After an experimental period of approximately 19 months, the enriched children showed an average IQ gain of 28.5 points, while the contrast group, after an average interval of 30.7 months, lost 26.2 IQ points. Such short term gains are impressive, but a demonstration of some lasting effects would be grounds for jubilation.

After the passage of some 30 years, Skeels (1966) searched out the original subjects to determine whether their progress during the postexperimental period had continued at a rate comparable to that shown during the experimental period. Skeels (1966) described the results as follows:

> The two groups had maintained their divergent patterns of competency into adulthood. All 13 children in the experimental group were self-supporting, and none was a ward of any institution, public or private. In the contrast group of 12 children, one had died in adolescence following continued residence in a state institution for the mentally retarded, and four were still wards of institutions. . . .
>
> In education, disparity between the two groups was striking. The contrast group completed a median of less than the third grade. The experimental group completed a median of the twelfth

> grade. Four of the subjects had one or more years of college work. . . .
>
> Marked differences in occupational levels were seen in the two groups. In the experimental group all were self-supporting or married and functioning as housewives. . . . In the contrast group, four (36 percent) of the subjects were institutionalized and unemployed. . . .
>
> Eleven of the 13 children in the experimental group were married; nine of the 11 had a total of 28 children, an average of three children per family. On intelligence tests, these second-generation children had IQ's ranging from 86 to 125, with a mean and median IQ of 104. In no instance was there any indication of mental retardation or demonstrable abnormality.
>
> The cost to the state for the contrast group, for whom intervention was essentially limited to custodial care, was approximately five times that of the cost for the experimental group. It seems safe to predict that for at least four of the cases in the contrast group costs to the state will continue at a rate in excess of $200.00 per month each for another 20 to 40 years [Skeels, pp. 54-55].

The second major empirical antecedent which deserves special mention was conducted by Kirk (1958). He studied the development of some 81 retarded children between the ages of 3 and 6, with IQ's ranging from 45 to 80. Of the total group, 28 children living at home with their families attended a special nursery school and 15 children residing in an institution for the retarded attended a nursery school operated in the institution. Two contrast groups were 26 retarded children living at home who did not attend nursery school and 12 institutionalized retarded children for whom no extra enrichment was available. All of these children were followed for several years, with encouraging results. Seventy percent of the children for whom special preschool programs were available showed IQ increments ranging between 10 and 30 points, even though half of the children were classified as organically retarded. The IQ's of the control groups of children declined, with the difference between changes shown by the preschool and control groups being statistically significant. Furthermore, the gains shown by the experimental children during the enrichment period were sustained for several years during the followup period.

In commenting on his own data and the finding of Skeels and Dye (1939) and others who attempted to produce changes in the developmental rate of retarded children, Kirk (1966) suggested that greater gains can be expected if the enrichment is begun earlier. None of the known studies that began enrichment programs as late as age 6 produced gains as large as those of either Skeels and Dye (1939) or Kirk (1958).

Early Education Projects

One of the first projects resulting from increased interest in early childhood education was the Early Training Project (Gray, 1966) in Nashville, Tennessee. In this project a summer preschool program was offered to disadvantaged Negro children, with home visitor contacts provided during the academic year. One group received three summers of this enrichment program, and one received two summers. Two control groups were identified, one living in the same city and another in a city about 25 miles away (to minimize casual diffusion of program ideas). The curriculum was carefully structured and centered around what the authors call aptitudes for achievement, attitudes toward achievement, and careful manipulation of reinforcement for desired behavior. At the end of the summer preschool experience, there were significant differences between the groups that had received the summer preschool plus winter home visiting and the control groups (Gray & Klaus, 1965). At the end of second grade there were differences between the two experimental groups and the two control groups. No superiority for the group that had had three summer preschools over the group that had had only two could be detected.

An enrichment project was established in Syracuse, New York, between 1964 and 1969. (See Caldwell & Richmond, 1964, 1968). The most unique feature of this project was the age range of subjects accepted — 6 months to 5 years. As the intervention pattern involved voluntarily sought day care, with enrollment at the convenience of the children and parents rather than at the dictates of precise experimental design, several years were required for the accumulation of the sample. Preliminary results have already been reported, but the final analysis has not yet been completed. At this juncture it can be stated that, like other early intervention programs, this one has produced positive and encouraging results. It has not, however, clearly demonstrated the superiority of beginning enrichment before age 3. For example, 86 children who entered the program prior to their third birthday (most of them between one and two) showed average developmental quotient gains of 14 points across an average interval of 25 months.

Another group of 22 children who entered at an average age of 44 months and had an average of 17 months of day care showed an average increment of 18 points. Both subgroups differed significantly from their controls, but the difference between the magnitude of change shown by the younger and older experimental children was not statistically significant ($t = 1.27$; $p = \text{NS}$).

One could continue at length to cite data demonstrating that early childhood enrichment produces impressive gains in the intellectual functioning of young children. Similar findings have been obtained by Weikart (1967), Bereiter and Engelmann (1966), Nimnicht and Meier (1967), Karnes (1969), Hodges and Spicker (1967), and many others. The consistency of results with different groups, different pedagogy, and different samples is one of the most persuasive features of this data.

Cognitive changes have been the basis of this discussion. Conventional intelligence tests have been the center of attraction while little has been said about changes in social and emotional functioning. Similarly neglected are achievement data. The first neglect is largely due to the absence of good instrumentation which is appropriate for young children. The second is due to the fact that few of the current projects have reached the level of maturity where conventional achievement tests can be administered to the children.

Discussion

At the risk of belaboring the obvious, one must first say that the main thing needed is more of the same. Early childhood education today would not be having to experience a renaissance if, some thirty years ago, good quality research had been continued. At this point nothing is proven other than that people can become excited about early experience. At least four obligations need to be met if significant progress is to be made from this point on.

Mandatory Followup. Researchers conducting studies dealing with the effects of early intervention are obligated to follow their subjects into subsequent developmental periods. The neat, clean, quick research study is everybody's favorite research style; the prolonged, progressively boring, occasionally discouraging, longitudinal pursuit is the obligation of everyone concerned with change over time — which is what development is all about. In order to determine conclusively the effects of early intervention, such followup is essential, for some change on most assessment instruments is likely to be found any time there is a second assessment. As meaningful control groups are often difficult to obtain, long term followup is mandatory lest before and after results merely reflect increased familiarity with the testing situation or the instrument.

This point can be illustrated with some recent data from Karnes (1969), who has compared gains made during and following three different preschool enrichment programs: ameliorative, direct verbal, and traditional. The ameliorative curriculum stressed verbalization in conjunction with the manipulation of concrete materials as the chief means of remediating language deficiences measured by a test of linguistic abilities. The direct verbal curriculum was that generally known as the Bereiter-Engelmann (1966) program and it stressed intensive oral drill in verbal, mathematical, and logical patterns. The traditional curriculum employed a goal of promotion in motor, social, and general language development of children. This was accomplished through the medium of play, both indoor and outdoor, with available materials.

The ameliorative curriculum group attended the special preschool for one year. The second year, the children attended kindergarten and received one hour per day of special work. The direct verbal group attended school in its special building following its special curriculum for two years. The traditional group attended preschool the first year and public kindergarten the next year. All three groups attended regular public school in their home community for the third year of the study. All groups showed gains on intelligence tests for the first year; however, the traditional group showed the greatest gains. During the second year, only the children attending the direct verbal program continued to gain. Each of the three groups dropped to similar levels when they entered the public first grade classes. The data point to two increasingly common facts. There is a spurt following preschool enrichment, and there is a decline when the children enter regular educational programs.

Preschool Primary Continuity. There must be continuity between preschool enrichment and subsequent educational endeavors. Implications of the followup studies now available are abundantly clear: Gains associated with individualized, carefully planned, meticulously executed preschool programs cannot continue unattenuated unless subsequent educational endeavors are as individualized, carefully planned, and meticulously executed.

Thus it seems imperative to link preschool programs with elementary education programs.

Careful Program Description. The need for more program description cannot be stressed sufficiently. What kind of intervention produces positive effects? What kind of intervention produces what kind of effect or, still better, what kind of intervention produces what kind of effect in what kind of child? These are questions which need answers. The concern is now with curriculum. Weikart (1969) suggested that the magnitude of change associated with different curricula is similar provided a particular staff model is created and teachers are convinced that they are using the best method available. The staff model which he advocates is one to which most educators would subscribe — ample planning, team teaching, parent involvement, low teacher pupil ratio, deep staff commitment, and child oriented focus. Until detailed, naturalistic descriptions of minute to minute, person to person, and person to object classroom transactions are available, nothing can be concluded about the effectiveness or even the existence of different curricula.

Assigning Priorities. At times of peak excitement about certain ideas, it is easy to campaign for one approach and to seek diversion of funds from one endeavor to another. There seems to be no justification at this time for a strategy that would involve diversion of funds from education of older children into early education. Rather, increased allocations for programs for all ages are needed.

In our enthusiasm for early education, it is easy to promise too much. When too much is promised a little disappointment seems like a lot. The natural sequel to oversell is overkill. It is a fervent hope that in our current enthusiasm for early intervention, we do not try to oversell ourselves to the point where we cannot deliver and thus be forced into another early demise. We do not need another renaissance of interest in early childhood; we only need to make certain that the current interest fulfills its obligation. Instead, the current interest should culminate in practical and effective programs.

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The Scene Then & Now

Margaret Lay

THOSE who received their training in the field of early childhood education during the fifties must at times shake their heads in dismay over the rapidity with which the avant-garde practices of those days have become labeled *traditional.* They occasionally even find themselves viewed derisively as "warm puppyish" by some who consider themselves the avant-garde of today.

In the "olden days" of the fifties, the nursery school was rather universally expected to provide a child-size world in which home experiences were supplemented by opportunities to work and play with peers in a relatively unstructured atmosphere. Learning was considered to be the natural concomitant of the development of positive attitudes in a setting that provided toys, manipulative materials, expressive media, and extensive opportunities for social interaction and exploration.

The child's own powers of self-selection were said to provide an optimal learning environment as long as the school provided numerous choices and no adult tried to manipulate the direction of the child's inherent strivings. Nursery school teachers gave repeated anecdotal evidence of how effective these "permissive" and "child-centered activity" programs were for individual children. There was indeed a near consensus as to what constituted appropriate teaching behavior in the early childhood field.

During the sixties, a series of events and educational trends significantly disrupted the previous consensus about early childhood education. First came the ideas popularized by Bruner — that the structural dimensions of any subject discipline were basically similar at all levels and that appropriate perspectives gained at early levels would facilitate later functioning in these disciplines. Some reexamination of the "play world" of nursery school resulted from the accompanying view that children cannot discover the basic principles of each discipline for themselves without the minimal requirement of an environment in which appropriate discoveries would occur.

A second influence came with the realization among educators that the "intelligence" that they had considered to be an inborn constant was being theoretically and empirically described as depending largely upon the child's early experience. As a result, educators rushed to structure environments experimentally to enhance early learning.

Foundation and federal funding during the sixties spurred an unprecedented expansion of programs for the young child, tremendously intensifying the debate about what was appropriate experience for him. The funding came unexpectedly to most educators, and far too few early childhood specialists were available to advise these programs. In addition, Head Start was meant to compensate for severe lacks in the home experiences rather than to provide an enriching supplement. This created a substantially new situation that demanded new perspectives on early childhood education.

In the spring of 1965, people from all backgrounds became involved in setting up Head Start programs under community action agencies. Professionals from the related fields of elementary education, psychology, sociology, health, and others became immediately involved in advising and evaluating the new programs. Their commitment was not necessarily to permissive, play-oriented programs. In fact, some of the innovators from outside the early education field constructed programs of intensive direct instruction and began referring to previous nursery programs as "traditional." At this point a complete about-face had occurred regarding what was *new* and what was *traditional* — and all within the space of a few years.

Diversity is the keynote in early childhood education today. Many current programs have specific and highly varied aims, such as to develop academic readiness, attentional processes, good work habits and categorization skills; to improve or standardize language usage; to train for logical thinking; to teach phonics and/or reading; to increase positive self-identification; and to enhance achievement motivation. Practices, equipment, characteristics of program personnel, and program settings are also quite varied.

Clearly, this is an age of questioning and "trying." From some sources comes the fear that for young children trying may indeed be very trying. Some even express fears that children are being robbed of their childhood because of adult overeagerness to demonstrate early learning.

It is worth noting, however, that few of the publicized "prototypic" programs for the young children that have specifically focused on cognitive learning have simply taken existent elementary school materials and practices and used them earlier. Instead, they have employed special techniques — highly active games, manipulative equipment, diversity of media, low pupil-teacher ratios, varieties of teaching strategies. (If all the furor over new programs for early learning has misguided some teachers into acting toward three- and four-year-olds — or even younger — as though they were in the traditionally conceived first grade class, some children may well have suffered as a result.)

Many educators continue to insist that a rich environment with opportunity for the child to explore, to play, to interact with his peers with a minimum of adult-imposed structure results in optimal development of all kinds. These persons point out that even though the research to date seems to support the effectiveness of direct instruction for precise cognitive goals, whether or not gains are long-term is in doubt. And we have little evidence about other broader aspects of development.

We need to obtain final answers to these arguments. We should not do so by means of global comparisons of one kind of representative program with another but rather through comparisons of a gamut of programs from which we have gathered and analyzed, in relation to a variety of outcomes for children, data on such questions as the following:

- To what extent does the program indicate when certain kinds of behavior are considered appropriate?
- How much variety in terms of equipment, settings, peers, and teachers does a child encounter?
- What allowance is made for diversity in behavior and progress?
- To what extent does the program environment encourage and respond to child initiations and explorations?
- To what extent are experiences presented in a logical sequence and simplified with the child in mind?

This kind of specific research would have greater effectiveness in restoring consensus than the studies more usually undertaken of contrasting total programs.

Until we have clearer research evidence and some kind of consensus among professionals on how various parts of the program affect various kinds of development, we will have to continue implementing programs according to carefully considered hunches about what is most desirable. The following items exemplify the level of abstraction at which such hunches might well be stated. Some educators (including this writer) would favor these conditions:

- A regular daily pattern of program offerings, of snack, rest, outdoor play, story, and so on, but with a minimum of coercion to participate in these activities
- Considerable space and/or time with a minimum of adult restriction on exploratory and motor behavior
- Diverse use of space to provide the greatest amount of freedom for children to move from one kind of in-school setting to another — that is, from expressive and divergent play space to organized and convergent work space, from active group interaction to quiet individual activity
- A variety of materials and equipment that (a) provide opportunity for manipulation and experimentation, (b) offer multisensory experiences, (c) are "responsive" in that the child receives some information as to the effectiveness of his actions, and (d) can be used by the child with a minimum of adult assistance
- Frequent adult verbal interaction with individual children about their ongoing activities that will include relevant comparisons between current encounters and prior experiences
- A gradual increase, not only in kinds of equipment and materials but also in the number of adults and peers the child encounters
- Specialized programs (direct instruction, special facilities, simplified and/or sequenced encounters) for children with diagnosed developmental deficiences, with a very small group of children for each adult.

Although early childhood educators would be unlikely to reach a consensus on the value of the above conditions as opposed to others, clarification of areas of agreement/disagreement on dimensions such as these would seem to provide a basis for understanding and communication. We need these today in the field of nursery and kindergarten education.

Influence on the Elementary School

Helen Heffernan

THE POLICY of making the kindergarten an integral part of the elementary school is gradually gaining nationwide acceptance. A mountain of evidence has accumulated to prove the importance of the early years of life for all kinds of learning — cognitive, affective, and psychomotor. Benjamin Bloom's statement that "about 17 percent of growth [in educational achievement] takes place between ages 4 and 6" has been reinforced by recent experience and further experiments in the educability of young children. No defensible doubt can remain today about the responsibility of society to exploit fully the young child's capacity to learn.

The decade ahead should witness great progress on how each child's general learning pattern can best be developed, what curricular experiences are most conducive to further learning, and who can participate most effectively in the young child's adventures in learning.

Although the social trend is toward adding a year or more of schooling prior to the traditional first grade, a less publicized but equally significant trend is toward recognition of the important role of parents, the home, and the community in the education of young children. If home-community language is deficient, the child comes to school seriously handicapped. If the parents have not introduced the young child to some of the complexities of his social environment and some of the wonders of his natural environment, he comes to school lacking the basic concepts essential to make reading meaningful. If parents have not read to a child or told him stories, have not sung to him, or encouraged him to participate in household activities, he comes to school lacking many of the skills of his more fortunate age mates.

Any examination of the organization of the educational program because of the added year or years is superficial if it does not include plans to provide opportunity for parents and prospective parents to learn about child-rearing practices conducive to optimal development and about their appropriate roles as the first teachers of their children. Part of the nursery school, kindergarten, or primary teacher's time might well be assigned to helping parents learn to become full partners with the school in the education of their children.

The extension of education downward confronts the school with the necessity of providing continuity and progression in the educational program. Children need to recognize an orderly sequence of experiences in which each new experience builds on previous ones and enriches and enhances their lives. All education of children should include this feeling of progression — a dynamic forward movement toward new goals. Progression involves the excitement of living through achievement in learning and through meeting new challenges that the child is capable of dealing with successfully after a reasonable expenditure of time and effort.

To provide for continuity, those entrusted with making policy decisions for a school system or for other programs should reconsider their goals for the education of children. Various age spans that seem appropriate for the particular school system may be defined. Ages five to eight, ages three or four to eight may be right for programs beginning at the specific lower ages. Other programs may include an age span from birth through age eight, particularly in communities where coordination of health, social welfare, and education services has been achieved or is feasible. Considering the entire life period to adolescence as a unit, other communities may wish no artificial divisions into early and later childhood education.

Each year is important in the life of a human being. The year the child is actually living is the most important one for him. School should provide the opportunity for him to live that particular year to the fullest. If the school provides a richly stimulating environment in terms of the child's developmental needs and encourages his free exploration of the environment with the guidance of thoroughly qualified teachers, then he will make progress in every behavior for which he is ready. This is true not only for the year (or years) of education added at early levels; but for the years that follow.

A year spent in a well-designed nursery or kindergarten program will produce development that should make subsequent learning easier for the child and reduce the pressure and tension that lead to school failure. The goals the school system sets and teacher guidance that leads to their realization will produce measurable results. The kindergarten year is marked for many children by improved physical and mental health, increased emotional control, improved psychomotor skills, self-identification, ability to work and play with other children, ability to follow a regular pattern of activities, increased fluency and facility in the use of language, increased understanding of the physical and social environment, and ability to use a wide variety of materials and equipment.

What changes, then, should the addition of the kindergarten year make in the elementary school curriculum? For each year of the child's education the goals are essentially the same. Schools strive to help each child to —

- Protect, maintain, and improve his physical and mental health and his social and emotional adjustment.
- Increase his ability to get along successfully with other people.
- Expand his understanding of his natural and scientific environment.
- Increase his skills of effective communication.
- Increase his ability to use mathematical concepts, symbols, and processes.
- Expand his knowledge and appreciation of the arts — music, art, literature, drama, the dance.
- Expand his ability and desire to express himself creatively.

Each year the teacher will work with each child to enable him to achieve a full year's growth in regard to these goals. He will recognize and treat each child as a unique person. He will not compare one child's achievement with that of any other. He will not judge the child in terms of academic goals that are unrealistic for him. He will not be made a victim of so-called grade standards that ignore what is now well known about individual variation.

Whenever the school makes basic organizational changes, such as the addition, in this instance, of the kindergarten year, every elementary teacher should participate in an analysis and discussion of what the change means to the present structure.

Teachers will find that the broad objectives are identical at all levels of childhood but the *means* to achieve these ends are determined by the maturity of the children as they progress year after year through the educational program. The major difference lies in equipment and materials used. Charts based on the children's firsthand experiences may be highly satisfactory for the six-year-old, while delightful little books on life in different communities in the world reveal new horizons for the eight-year-old, and a wide range of reading materials on primitive life proves intriguing to the ten-year-old. A map of the neighborhood showing the home of each five-year-old introduces a new concept of spatial relations. Eight-year-olds find that making a map of their own community is fascinating, while the 11-year-olds need an excellent world map on which to locate the current events in the increasingly complex world in which each is eager to find his place.

The teacher will decide that steady progression in music experiences is highly desirable and that each year should mean additions to the children's repertoire of songs they can sing and music they can appreciate and enjoy. Similarly, as children mature, the teacher will supplement or replace the art materials they have been using with more sophisticated material. The goal, however, remains the same at each level — to release the creativity of children.

Although many materials used in school have a wide appeal to children of all ages, teachers may decide that continuity and progression will result from some agreement within the school or school system concerning *when* to use certain stories, poems, songs, pictures, science experiences, social studies activities, or study trips. Such an agreement on materials and experiences that seem particularly suitable for each level of development leaves some material fresh for each group as they proceed through the school. The richness of resources in all these activities is almost limitless, and so every child can be stimulated by new and delightful materials at each age level. These are the kinds of agreements conducive to good human relations among any group of adults responsible for the education of the children of a community.

The addition of a year or two to the education of children calls for a reexamination of the elementary school because every year will be affected. To many, modifying practice is painful, but a new organization is a challenge to question our curriculum, the effectiveness of our methods, the influence of our human relations. The advent of the kindergarten could well be the occasion to initiate long-needed change and to cultivate a sensitive awareness of every child, his home, his neighborhood, his unmet needs.

How and What To Teach the Very Young Child

Maya Pines and Catherine Brunner

A NEW group of psychologists interested in children's intellectual development — the "cognitive" group — is turning the formerly quiet field of preschool education into a battleground. What very young children should be taught, and how, is rapidly becoming a national issue, now that the solution to major problems of school failure, dropouts, and functional illiteracy seems to lie in the years *before* a child normally enters the first grade.

These psychologists advocate placing more emphasis on specific intellectual activities, such as language training and early exposure to letters and numbers. They believe that for the child to know that he really has the skills necessary for success in school will do wonders to his self-image and go a long way toward preventing school failure.

According to the cognitive psychologists, an individual's achievement in life depends very largely on what he has been helped to learn before the age of four. Their belief is expressed by Illinois University's J. McV. Hunt, whose book, *Intelligence and Experience*, is the group's bible. He maintains that since only the outer limits of intelligence are fixed at birth, future generations of human beings may become far more intelligent — gaining an average of perhaps 30 points of IQ — through better management of young children's encounters with their environment. Therefore, he and other cognitive psychologists would like to provide deliberate stimulation of the child's intellect almost from the moment of birth.

In middle-class homes that emphasize language, toys, and books, a certain minimum of intellectual stimulation is likely to be available; furthermore, middle-class parents tend to reward both curiosity and achievement.

The cognitive psychologists believe that children from these homes could actually learn far more — and enjoy it. They point out that intellectually stimulating activities need take only a few minutes or an hour daily. In less than half an hour a day at Omar

K. Moore's "talking typewriter," for instance, three- to five-year-olds who attended a Hamden, Connecticut, nursery school taught themselves to read, write, type, and compose poetry. Even without experiences like this, most middle-class children learn enough at home during their early years to prepare them to cope with the modest demands of first grade.

Not so the children of poverty. They discover early in life that the best way to stay out of trouble is to keep quiet. By the age of 18 months, they start doing less well than middle-class toddlers in language development and general ability to make sense of the world. At kindergarten age, their IQ's run some 5 to 15 points below those of middle-class children. And from then on, their IQ's continue to sink with every year in school.

To make matters worse, the existing Head Start classes and other preschool projects for poor children generally fail to put sufficient emphasis on intellectual growth. By the time they are four and five, visits to the zoo and a chance to play with blocks are not likely to produce much change in their ability to speak, read, write, or think. What they need most urgently is systematic remedial work — learning sequences that lead them to specific educational goals.

An interesting though somewhat radical example of such remedial work is the program that was started at the University of Illinois by Carl Bereiter and Siegfried Engelmann. This program is a sort of intellectual pressure cooker for children from the slums. Its four- and five-year-olds are split into small groups that move from subject to subject. They learn English as if were a second language, and arithmetic as if it were a third.

While at home, such children are taught that to be good is to be quiet; here they are encouraged to shout out their answers. In drills similar to foreign-language pattern drills, they repeat complete sentences while the teacher demonstrates the meaning of such key words as *not* and *or*, powerful logical tools. In arithmetic classes, the children use chants to remind them how to proceed, attack problems, think. The two-hour daily schedule — three 20-minute classes separated by a juice break, drawing, singing, and outdoor activities — allows almost no time for free play.

By the end of the year, the five-year-olds in this program placed at mid-second-grade level in arithmetic and mid-first-grade level in reading and spelling on the Wide-Range Achievement Test. The four-year-olds who had started that year gained an average of 17 points of IQ on the Stanford-Binet and scored at first grade level in arithmetic, reading, and spelling. Both groups of extremely disadvantaged youngsters performed nearly on a par with gifted children of their age.

While few preschool projects have taken over the total Bereiter-Engelmann program, I understand that a National Council of Teachers of English task force recently recommended that all preschool curriculums for disadvantaged children include some 20 minutes a day of drills aimed at teaching children to master logic, rather than facts, and giving them the confidence that comes from facility in language.

A very different way of bringing order and logic into the world of the deprived child was demonstrated by Maria Montessori half a century ago and is now coming into its own again. Montessori invented a new kind of classroom in which she could give very young children the freedom to choose any toy they liked and still lead them to specific learning sequences that were built into each toy. Each child could choose from such variety that 40 youngsters in the same class might well be busy with 40 different tasks.

Montessori's pupils were three- to seven-year-olds from one of Rome's worst slums. Since the children's parents worked all day, her original school was a day-care center. Only one hour of it was devoted to activities we now think of as typically Montessori, using the materials she invented.

The present Montessori revival in the U. S. focuses on middle-class children. Many Montessori schools were started by middle-class parents, and only a handful of Head Start centers have been run in the Montessori way. But when a private Montessori program included 10 children from welfare families in Chicago recently, these children's IQ's jumped an average of 17 points in three months.

In Greeley, Colorado, Glen Nimnicht, John Meier, and Oralie McAfee developed a highly effective school for very poor Spanish-Americans — the New Nursery School. Pulling together techniques invented by O. K. Moore, Maria Montessori, and New York's Institute for Developmental Studies, the entire school was planned as a "responsive environment" which always leaves the initiative up to the child.

The three- and four-year-olds in the program have made rapid gains in language ability, and some have learned to type out their own stories. Inspired by this example, the school system of Sumter, South Carolina, hopes to open similar classes for 900 three- to five-year-olds in an area that has never even had a public kindergarten.

Meanwhile in Chicago, the Office of Economic Opportunity is trying out the talking typewriter and responsive environment system with large numbers of three- and four-year-olds from one of the city's poorest areas.

Research on early learning is expanding so rapidly that one can barely keep up with it. I am convinced that, given general application, the findings of the cognitive psychologists could enrich the minds of *all* children and could dramatically raise the intelligence of future generations of students. Middle-class children would not be held down to some comfortable average, and poor children would no longer be crushed before they start to learn. It is an exciting vista.

— *Maya Pines*

WHAT constitutes a significant learning experience for young children? Within the past 10 years, the research on the learning process has resulted in a wide diversity of recommendations for learning programs, instructional materials, and specialized programs for teacher training. The people responsible for operating early childhood education programs are faced with choosing among an array of convincing presentations of conflicting points of view. Evaluation is a serious responsibility and an increasingly complicated process.

Following is a discussion of some of the issues that must be resolved in deciding what kind of learning program is best for young children.

Should the learning program promote unilateral or multilateral development? Cognitive psychologists have condemned "old-line early childhood educators" for their allegedly exclusive focus on the social and/or emotional development of children. On the other hand, examination of suggested cognitive approaches reveals major or exclusive focus upon intellectual development with, at most, token attention to other facets of growth.

Intellectual skills are important, but they can be used at optimum level only when an individual has also acquired the physical, social, and emotional skills which enable him to respond to his environment. To help children become intelligent, competent participants in society, a program must focus on all aspects of individual development. Intellectual achievement is only one aspect of early learning. Any program which overemphasizes a single facet of development shortchanges the children who participate in that program.

Should the learning program focus on short- or long-range goals? Preparing children for first grade is a major concern of many early education endeavors. These programs assign high priority to learning to follow directions unquestioningly; to working in groups; to responding to specific stimuli according to patterned response; and to handling pencils, papers, and workbooks in relation to teacher-directed activities. Any of these activities can serve a purpose in specific situations, but in instructional programs where they assume prime importance, learning frequently lacks meaning and tends to become a rote process. Such programs provide inadequate preparation for first grade or anything else.

On the other hand, if programs provide meaningful experiences that stimulate children to ask questions and find and express the answers to them and if they call for individual as well as group participation, children acquire knowledge and develop skills in many areas. As experiences are extended, children begin to build competencies which enable them to live more effectively in the present and increase their readiness for whatever is next — today, tomorrow, even first grade!

When programs have only short-range goals, they limit growth. A child has his whole life to live. What he learns today should be related to continuing goals he will be striving to attain all his life.

What constitutes sufficient emphasis on intellectual growth? In an effort to pack maximum learning into minimum time, some of the programs which emphasize intellectual development stress group work for four- and five-year-olds. In 20-minute class sessions devoted to specific content areas, the children drill in unison while observing the teacher.

While involvement of the total group may sound economical, it actually may interfere with or retard the progress of many children and thus prove to be an expensive procedure. The good imitator may not understand what he is doing but may still be regarded as making good progress. A nonparticipator, who may know more than others in the group, may, for an emotional, social, or physical reason, be unwilling or unable to respond. Other children may be active participants but give wrong responses, and still others may learn faulty responses from hearing their neighbors.

The question of the effectiveness of drill in changing behavior is basic to the quest for the best way to learn. Long experience with grammar or math drills has shown that students can learn to respond quickly and accurately to the stimuli which have been drilled and can respond accurately to test situations where stimuli remain unchanged. Unless these students understand the meaning behind the stimuli, however, drill does not assure transfer to transposed stimuli, nor does it assure ability to associate within new context.

The child who becomes increasingly able to understand a broad vocabulary and use it effectively is one who has meaningful contacts with words — hearing them spoken within the context of actual experiences and using them repeatedly as he reacts to his environment. These myriad repetitions are a kind of practice or drill, but with emphasis on meaning as well as sound or symbol.

Teacher demonstration can provide patterns for imitation, but the learner must have much meaningful practice before he adopts the patterns as his own.

A danger of the drill approach to learning is that it may present only one method of solving a given problem. This inhibits the youngster who may have the ability to identify several ways to deal correctly with a situation confronting him.

In strict cognitive programs, enrichment activities and self-selection activities, often identified as free play, are either nonexistent or given token recognition. Yet such activities can afford much learning for both children and teacher. They give children opportunities for developing new knowledge, vocabulary, and skills. Teachers, observing and interacting with children in these activities, have opportunities to learn language patterns, community mores, the accuracy or inaccuracy of children's concepts, and levels of skill development.

The cognitive psychologists have much to say that can assist educators in reevaluating their efforts to help young children grow intellectually. But it is important to remember that young children need to grow in other ways — to be able to feel, to respond, to act, as well as to know. They need to learn to act independently as well as in a group. Intellect is important to the degree to which an individual can use it, both for his own benefit and for the benefit of others. To use intellect well requires sound emotional, social, and physical development.

If young children are to derive maximum benefit from the learning program, the goals must be focused on total development, nothing less.

— *Catherine Brunner*

Play's the Thing

Eli M. Bower

IS A puzzlement," said the King of Siam. He could have been scratching his head at the average American who works less hours so he can have more time for play, only to find that he has to work twice as hard to enjoy it. The opportunities for fun and games are plentiful, yet we pursue them like frenzied housewives at a Macy's bargain basement sale.

Our basic approaches to play and work have become somewhat diffused and interwoven. If anything worth doing is worth doing well, then one must also learn to play well. Work values and goals become play values and goals, so that Americans will read, study, and work hard to be better golfers, better bridge partners — even better sex partners.

For example, numerous manuals aimed at helping married couples achieve optimum sexual adjustment make it quite clear that love is a job which can only be carried out successfully with study, training, and hard work. Wives especially are told that sex is too important to give it less effort and work than cooking, laundry, and other womanly activities. Lewis and Brissett, who did a study of 15 marriage manuals, comment wryly, "To the housewife's burden is added yet another chore."

Play starts with children. Children have little trouble finding opportunities to play if left alone. Our society, however, is moving rapidly toward a complete takeover of this traditional franchise of childhood. Increasing amounts of human effort and of local, state, and federal funds are being expended and expanded to get young children into planned preschool programs. Social and behavioral scientists have discovered how crucial this time of life can be for educational and social competence. Consequently, educators (and parents) conclude, the early years of childhood cannot be dissipated in aimless play. They begin to plan more meaningful activities for children.

While their intent is laudable, it is important to keep an ecological ear cocked for side effects. At present, most planned or operating preschool programs are conceptual hybrids of the older American middle-class nursery schools which provided individual and group play (often guided and supervised) and the nursery schools set up in Rome and other European cities by Maria Montessori and her followers to raise the personal and educational competence of slum children.

The latter schools most often concentrated on structured play- and task-oriented activities aimed at enhancing specific skills and learnings. At present, most preschool programs represent a marriage of the old world and the new, with the offspring somewhat unclear about their heritage or future.

The period between the birth of an animal and the time when he begins to assume task and role responsibilities is the golden age of play. All young animals play. Children and other animals relate to each other through play. Play is an idea or concept that gains its existence in the minds of children and higher animals. Careful observation of pups or kittens reveals that they can distinguish the idea of play from the idea of fight, although to the casual onlooker it is often difficult to decide if the pups or kittens are playing or fighting. Children and animals may play rough, but it's only when someone gets angry and moves into another communicational modality that play stops.

Play cannot be prescribed, assigned, or done to order. It is voluntary. It is fun. It is important, indeed mandatory, for animal and human existence.

Young monkeys deprived of play show more serious developmental and functional deficits than those deprived of mothering. Professor Harlow, who has experimented with monkeys for many years, concluded that, for young monkeys, play with peers seemed more necessary than mothering for the development of adult monkey competence.

One cannot work and play under the same conceptual banner. Some work or tasks may be fun to do and some fun may require hard work, but the idea and goal in each are qualitatively different. Essentially, play is a relationship with oneself or others which requires the skill of creating and becoming involved in illusions, of being able to step out of the real world and back again.

Man the explorer, the conceptualizer, the adventurer is man at play. The great scientific and social leaps that man has made in mastering his environment did not come about through hard work but through play. Man's major sources of food — agriculture and cattle raising — were probably not started to serve utilitarian reasons but as a source of fun for curious and imaginative men. At no time was Gregor Mendel doggedly pursuing the laws of genetics; he was simply playing around with garden peas and enjoying it. Blaise Pascal was enticed to develop theories of probability by some of his card-playing and crap-shooting friends. Nor did Orville and Wilbur Wright have any notion of providing public transportation for hordes of tourists when they started playing around with their flying machine.

A society concerned with producing a fair number of creative and imaginative adults must protect the play modalities of thinking developed in childhood. If children are required or ordered to play on behalf of adult aims or goals, the illusion of play and its magical thinking are destroyed. This does not mean that children cannot be helped to play or encouraged to try new, exciting, and stimulating modalities. But once prescribed, play is no longer play.

The play modality or relationship is utilized in what we call games. A game is a contest in which there are agreed upon rules and goals. It is a contrived social system with prescribed space and time boundaries.

An English historian suggested that cricket, a game that may take one to five days to complete, was invented by religious zealots to give the English some idea of eternity. To some extent, baseball does the same for Americans. Nevertheless, games constrict play through rules and clearly defined goals and by the implicit assumption that the relationships between opponents will be one of "fair play."

Both animals and humans can play, but only humans can play human games. The game is probably the child's first social relationship with strangers and his first testing of self against others. To play, he needs to be able to conceptualize the notion of rules and the separateness of the game from real life. Children (and adults) who see winning or losing a game as a matter of life and death are not playing anything and have not been able to step out of reality to any great extent. Although much of the value of the game is dependent on its seriousness and concentration, such seriousness is relevant only in the way it enables one to enter into the game wholeheartedly.

It is characteristic of some children that the outcome of a game can so overwhelm the child's real world that play and reality become one and the same. On the other hand, some cannot leap comfortably into the true illusory world of play and therefore participate coldly and with little spirit. Children who live in poor or deprived homes and neighborhoods often face overwhelming survival problems and therefore may lack the psychological freedom or opportunity to play. In many cases, such children must grow up fast, care for siblings when mother is at work, become self-reliant fast because there are few adults about to rely on, and in general become adult before they are quite grown up.

Since many of these children lack experience with a mediating or conceptualizing adult, they often find it difficult to connect the real and imagined. Many disturbed and deprived children have difficulty in games, often demonstrating impatience with rules and taking defeat as a personal affront.

The middle-class child frequently faces a set of grim-faced parents determined to prove that the chip off the old block is a giant Sequoia. As the values and goals of success have been switched from acquisition of material things to educational and personal achievement, middle-class parents have become less and less patient with the "wastefulness" of play. Their attitude is that while it cannot be done away with entirely, it can be made to serve adult ends.

There is nothing amiss or subversive in widening children's play opportunities with games which require higher and more complex skills, provided that the fun, enthusiasm, and play are still in them for the child. If the child is to learn to differentiate between play-fun and play-work, he must learn to differentiate his goals from the goals of others. Play, like mathematics, has its own internal assumptions and is only valid if these assumptions are not disturbed. Play is for fun; if this is compromised, nothing will add up right.

Where game values and enjoyments have been subverted by other values, children grow up into adults who are unable to enter the game world in the spirit of play and fun. They will have little or no chance to connect their adult world to the more primitive, naturalistic world of the child that still lives in them. They become like Lennie in Steinbeck's *Of Mice and Men*, who wanted desperately to play but could do so only with tragic results.

In our society, hard-working adults often find it difficult to separate games from nongames. While the game spirit may pervade such contests as war, it is often impossible for the losers to replay the contest. In days of yore, wars were fought in gentlemanly fashion by gentleman knights on the basis of rules firmly and magnificently enforced by the age of chivalry.

It is interesting to note that the idea of war *as a game* still persists in the minds of children and adults. This is why our sense of fair play was as much outraged by the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor as by the death and destruction it caused. One just doesn't play the "game" that way. On the opposite end of this continuum is the example of the battle between the French and British at Fontenay in 1745. As the opposing lines faced each other, Lord Charles Hay of the British First Grenadiers called out, "Gentlemen of the French Guards, will you fire first?" The French Commander, not to be outdone by this gesture, replied, "Après vous, messieurs les Anglais."

One can increase one's skills and enjoyment in games, since games can be played again and again. However, to become a better player, one needs to play against opponents who are more or less comparable in skill and power. To get fun out of games, one seeks opponents who can extend one's playing ability. There is little fun in annihilating opponents (as in war) and still less in being annihilated oneself.

Things done for fun may be disturbing to some adults, especially those permeated by the Puritan ethic, who see mirth as quickly gliding into sin. At times, in an effort to become completely rational, men seek to obliterate some of the more primitive irrational aspects of self. But completely rational, nonplaying men would be inhuman monsters. Despite his growth into adulthood, civilized man is able to maintain the wilderness play preserve of his mind and has ready access to it when he needs it. Our society cannot befoul or destroy these areas of experiencing without some risk.

Civilization is an agreement to work, play, and interact according to rules and a sense of fair play. True play, like virtue, is its own reward. It cannot exist where opponents aim to destroy each other. Children can be helped to learn many things through play and games, but if they do not have fun in doing so, the game is over.

Where Learning Happens

Stephen Carr and Kevin Lynch

THE BEST learning happens by surprise; it is very different from the normal process of deliberate education. By watching young children happening to learn, it is still possible to sense what learning might be.

Surprising things happen in cities, although frequently their people, places, and events are predictable. The routine business of life demands some regularity and enforces it through selective attention to what supports our efforts. But often, when we have "nothing better to do," when we are waiting, in transit, on vacation, just hanging around — or even occasionally when we are busy with our tasks — cities surprise us. A particular scene — a place, the people in it, what they are up to — suddenly comes into focus. We see it as if for the first time.

When a "new" scene is related to our interests, we may learn something. When it is compelling, we may enter it to change it by our actions or to join with others. At such times, we teach ourselves: The learning is integral with the experience, a by-product of some perception or activity engaging in itself. Most likely this informal learning will be relevant to our needs, to finding or making our place in the world. The occasions for such incidents can be dramatically increased by urban policy.

Ideally, learning begins when we awake and ends when we go to sleep. If we are fortunate enough to learn how to learn from our experiences, education extends over a lifetime. Schools, on the other hand, are conservative institutions normally closed to the world around them and obsessed with the development of "skills." Formal education looks to the filling of career slots, certifying performance by a succession of numbers, grades, and diplomas. For the poor, and especially the black poor, schools fail to do even this much. For many, . . . schooling has become a way of filling time, sometimes a way of staying alive, more often a way of postponing entry into work. In a more reasonable society, time has other uses.

Our failure to help people to learn how to learn is not only due to the resistance of the educational establishment; the environment itself is growth-denying in the suburb as well as the slum. Too often the city fences us away from other kinds of people. By the scale, impersonality, and even hostility of its places and institutions, the city tends to discourage independence of action and to encourage fear and feelings of powerlessness. The white mother and child in the suburb are kept from new experiences almost as effectively as their black counterparts in a ghetto housing project.

The growth of individuals into rich and competent human beings is a fundamental value, directly satisfying in itself. It is also instrumental to other social goals, such as survival and economic development. Development of the individual will be a future focus of social action in this country, both by choice and by necessity. Education is shifting from being preparation for work to being a continuing part of life. When more routine work becomes automated, learning and working may become indistinguishable in the same way that the boundaries between education and play are dissolving as leisure is devoted to learning. Education is already an expensive public concern, but only in the context of traditional institutions and conventional measures of academic performance. The development of the individual other than in these stereotyped ways has never been a matter of conscious public policy, neither in our society nor in any other.

By development, we mean that an individual becomes more competent in some way, more highly organized yet more responsive, more engaged in a significant interchange with the environment and yet more independent of it. We think of growth in its broadest senses: physical, emotional, intellectual, and social. We include development both to known and unknown ends: creating a new poetic style as well as learning to read. Development is whatever increases the individual's involvement in self-motivated choice and action, whatever increases his power to formulate and execute personal intentions, whether delighting in the moment or planning a course of life. In our view, development is not limited to the forms sanctioned by culture and class (by which weight lifting is vulgar, and the growth of Black Power bad). The aim is not to produce well-adjusted people who will operate competently without making waves. Development in this radical sense is a disturbing and dangerous pursuit, one that sometimes must be subject to constraints to assure the stability of society and the continued development of others. What is developmental depends on the individual's unrealized potentialities, his situation, and his purposes. We refer to the process — growing well — rather than to any specific ends for growth.

If development is to be an aim of public policy, some criteria for selection will be needed. We choose to favor developmental experiences that are self-motivating and self-rewarding, absorbing and committing rather than momentary and whimsical. This kind of experience gives the most promise of further development. We would emphasize development that aids the development of others: for example, skill in teaching rather than in the art of domination. Finally, we would encourage development that has socially useful by-products, even if such a judgment may be hard to make.

Vague as they are, even these criteria may be too narrowly focused on the individual. In many cases, society will (or should) give higher priority to group development: the growth of community identity, pride, purpose, and competence. This may be the case for the poor nations of the world as well as the critical issue for the Negro American. Perhaps in a saner society, individuals would naturally develop best as members of a developing community. As things are, individual development and group development will often be in conflict.

How can the urban environment promote development? The city has been a center for acculturation in the past — even if it has not been the melting pot once assumed. For the present rural migrants, however, urban society is not performing well. Any improvement in this performance will involve the urban school and urban politics, as well as patterns of work and leisure. We will confine our speculations to the influence of city form — the distribution in space and the scheduling in time of people, their activities, and the spaces that contain them.

The urban environment, in this specific sense, already serves many functions in supporting the development of individuals. It is a medium for transmitting the form and content of contemporary society, a territory to be explored, and a setting for the testing of identity. With the attrition of family function and the waning influence of tradition and authority, the individual seeks identity through his own experience. He must make himself in choice and action, and he must do so, by and large, in the urban environment.

Growing Up in the Future City

The present city offers a wide range of opportunity and stimulus, if mostly for the mobile and well-to-do. The trend of city growth, however, is toward increasing the apparent standardization and masking the available choices. Although physical mobility is increasing, exposure to diversity is sharply decreasing, especially for women and children. The decentralization of cities is bringing about a coarser spatial segregation of life styles and environmental qualities, although over-all variety continues to increase. There has been a general shift from participation to observation, which increasing electronic communications will most likely accelerate. There are "do it yourself" compensations (if that is what they are), but the processes of production, distribution, government, and even daily servicing become more impersonal, invisible, and remote.

A substantial minority is shut out or disaffected by urban society. Many people go from exclusion to disaffection without any transitional engagement. Given the fear and blindness of the majority, there is little reason to suppose that frustrated and disaffected people will disappear in the near future. Such minorities will increase, along with those who simply find affluence boring. There will no doubt be a corresponding increase in such "counter-insurgency" efforts as the Peace Corps and VISTA. For those fortunate young people who have not lost their faith, these experiences can have great educational depth, despite reentry problems. Reports of the death of the hippie, however, are probably premature — at least in the sense that young people, whatever they may call themselves, will continue their search for involving experiences "outside the system."

The *laissez-faire* alternative to societal support for individual growth does not mean disaster (except for a minority). It does, however, represent a serious loss of potential. No set of policies dealing with city form can be a panacea for such problems. Yet cities are where we live. Their form shapes our experience and consequent growth. To our minds, the single most important endeavor for city planning and design is to understand the developmental function of environment and to find ways to improve it.

Access and Diversity

An urban region is an immense storehouse of information. Its stimuli, diverse ways of life, events, and facilities are a prime occasion for learning. Developmental policy should aim at making this information accessible. One straightforward way is to provide a free public transportation system, bringing all parts of a metropolitan region within some reasonable time distance. The system must be workable at low densities, so that nondrivers are not caught within suburban areas nor central city residents excluded. Young children, as well as handicapped persons, should be able to use it with safety. If it proved impossible for an affluent country to provide basic transportation as a free public utility, then public transit might be subsidized so that children and adults of low income ride free. A more limited policy would subsidize educational trips where the destination was a school, museum, or another specifically educational locale. It might even be possible to subsidize "first-time" trips by distributing free tickets to random destinations.

The transportation system should be easy to use, as well as cheap and ubiquitous. It should be designed to be completely legible — the system of routes and transfers easy to follow and the destinations clear. Symbolic maps should be displayed, and direction-giving devices installed at all critical points. Public transit vehicles and routes should visually correlate with their destinations, not only by using route and destination symbols but by giving a circumferential route or vehicle a typically different form than a radial route or vehicle. The location of moving vehicles in the system and especially their imminent arrival should be displayed at waiting points. There should also be a network of paths along which young children can move safely by the means under their control: by foot, bicycle, cart, pony, or otherwise. Even the prosaic walk to school might be an educational device.

All vehicles and routes should give a clear view of the region being traversed — of its most important activities and particularly of its changes. The environment itself might be designed to be "transparent," wherever possible without intruding on individual privacy. The form of structures and of land, as well as signs and electronic devices, can communicate the activity and function of a place, express its history or ecology, reveal the flow and presence of people, or signal the social and environmental changes that are occurring. In an industrial area, factories would be encouraged to let their machines be seen in action, to label raw materials and their origin, to distinguish the different kinds of operatives and explain what they do, to exhibit finished products, to make their transportation containers transparent. Thus the city, like a good museum, would be designed to increase the physical and perceptual accessibility of its contents.

To some extent, city trips are already used for educational purposes: sight-seeing buses, historic trails, and the rather stereotyped excursions of schoolchildren to museums. The environment could be exploited much more systematically and imaginatively. A complete network of educational tours, clearly marked and adequately manned, would explain the city's history, its technical functioning, its system of production, its policies, its ecology, its diversity of social groups. Tours would be organized particularly for the young, the physically handicapped, or the socially disadvantaged. They would be available within the tourist's own region, in other cities or rural areas, or abroad. The promotion and subsidy of travel for those now unable to do so would be a matter of public policy. Temporary exchanges of groups of children between families or different institutions might insure that these new experiences were not superficial. In Boston's METCO, children from inner Roxbury attend suburban schools; in summer travel camps in Europe, children live temporarily with foreign families.

There are also ways to amplify environmental information. One step would be to prevent and reverse the growing spatial segregation of the population by socio-economic status. As larger areas of our cities are occupied by similar groups of people or shelter similar productive activities, the child and the housewife have fewer opportunities to see at least the outward show of other ways of life. To have diverse people and different ways of making a living within walking distance is a basis for a young child's education. In our ideal city, no one would be constrained to live or work in any very large and substantially homogeneous area. Each activity requires a certain threshold of extent to maintain its special character, but these thresholds are far smaller than the gross separations that our cities exhibit. The fine-grain diversity and interlude to be found in some of the more favored old inner suburbs would be characteristic of the metropolitan area as a whole.

In a similar vein, every intense center of urban activity would be easily accessible. The outward extension of metropolitan regions requires a well-distributed constellation of points of intense economic, institutional, and residential activity, each of sufficient size to offer a diversity of people and action, chance encounters and unsought information. Some of these centers must be small enough or be controllable on a small enough scale to be responsive to the individual, as town centers often are and regional shopping centers are not. Temporal diversity can also be encouraged: Opportunities can be provided for celebration and for the rescheduling of the daily and weekly routine of urban events.

Since growth thrives on the alternation between intake and meditation, these centers might be associated with places and facilities that are completely calm, safe, and quiet — gardens, cloisters, public cells. The withdrawal available in wilderness and institutionalized in some cultures might thus be introduced into the heart of the city.

Openness and Responsiveness

Making people and information accessible is one way of using the environment for learning. Another is to see that environmental form is responsive to individual and small-group effort. To act experimentally and to see the results of that action are the most effective ways to learn. This can be done in the spatial environment in a way often denied us in our social world of complex and remote institutions. High-density housing, for example, could be designed to provide the relative autonomy of the single-family dwelling. Allotment gardens and sites for owner-built vacation homes might be provided. A new technology of house maintenance and rehabilitation would increase the ability of the tenant to "do it himself." Features in the environment could be responsive to individual manipulation: arrangeable lighting, "pop-out" shelters, controllable micro-climate. The present trend toward homeostatic constancy — the caretaker environment — might be superseded by sensing and control devices by which environments would react visually, aurally, or tangibly to manipulation, or to the motion of the observer — just as artists are now inviting the active engagement of the spectator in their works. We might train for environmental management — for development, building, gardening, interior and exterior decorating, and other socially useful skills that allow unlimited use of individual sensibilities.

As experiments in radical decentralization, it should be possible for the inhabitants of small city areas to shape and maintain them themselves. Communal institutions might assume some functions of planning, building, repairing, servicing, and policing in their own environments. Neighborhood teen-agers, for example, might install and manage their own recreation facilities. Long-term changes in environment through new development or renewal can be growth enhancing, if effective roles can be found for individuals in shaping such change. Greater decentralization of change management will also be more productive of diversity. Our developmental city must include responsive local institutions for environmental control, as well as responsive physical features. Widespread political engagement would be its characteristic.

We would provide an ubiquitous network of open space throughout the urban region — "open" not always because it is free of buildings and covered with plants, but in the sense that it is uncommitted to prescribed users. Dumps and vacant lands would be in this inventory, as well as woods, fields, waterways, and marshes. In these open areas, actions and explorations are permissible that would be intolerable on developed sites. Anything might be constructed from the materials available — temporary sculptures (as on the mudflats of San Francisco Bay) or tree houses. Open lands would be widely distributed so that some are safely accessible to the young child exploring on his own. Open space could be interior space as well — for instance, large barnlike structures, whose volume would be temporarily allotted for spontaneously organized projects and constructions. Raw materials and technical advice might be available on call, much as in the junk playgrounds of Scandinavia. But since these uncommitted open areas are vulnerable to abuse and neglect, we must either provide enough of them to keep the density of use low or be prepared to police them regularly.

Environment as a Base for Special Programs

The environment may also be a base for special educational actions. We would, for example, attempt to increase the availability of symbolic information. Our policies would include a wide regional distribution of computer consoles (probably with reproduction capabilities drawing on large central libraries), museums, tutors, directories, local newspapers, local TV and radio programs, and other such information outlets. Moreover, this flow of information would be made responsive to the user in many ways: Observers would be able to shut off or turn on environmental displays, make simple inquiries of visible signs, or find places to put up their own public signs. Local newspapers and broadcasts should be open to the announcements, plays, and stories of their listeners, so that groups can speak to one another, rather than be spoken to. Community TV will facilitate this. Would ham TV be a future possibility?

Particular areas in the city would be devoted to self-testing. Adolescents or adults might try themselves against a graded series of challenges and difficulties — cognitive, physical, or artistic. Teen-agers might scale buildings or drive in obstacle races. Others might compete in the skill with which they rearrange a landscape. Many of these activities can emphasize mutual dependence and trust on the model of Outward Bound. Areas of this kind would have ambiguous border zones, where the unsure could watch and consider whether to take the plunge.

Other temporary communities might be places where it was permissible to break the habitual mold of action and to try out new roles: child-rearing or marriage, different kinds of productive work, or new and unfamiliar ways of life. These groups would be like participatory theater or continual happenings; the tentative gesture would for a time be the substitute for the competent committed act. Such a policy implies our judgment that vicarious experience — watching others, reading novels, seeing movies, learning by identification, processes already institutionalized in our culture — is no substitute for real experience. Obsolete parts of central cities will be apt locations because of their accessible, cheap, and anonymous space. These temporary communities could also be used for special celebrations or for the coming together of strangers for some common purpose or interest like surfing, socialism, or yoga. They would be ephemeral, voluntary ghettos. This would be a touchy policy to implement since many of the strange activities in such places will be seen as threats to society. They will have to be monitored, yet the monitoring must not be impatient interference.

The school, the institution formally devoted to education, could make much greater use of the city environment — not simply by field trips but by dispersing its scholarly activities more widely in time and space. Children would then be drawn into contact with other kinds of children and adults, and learning would not be sealed off but intimately mixed with other activities. The best teaching is mutual. Parents and local specialists can be drawn into the educative process — simultaneously being the teacher and the taught. Anyone may drop in, even if only to observe. Informal classes and workshops might be organized wherever people do not have other overriding purposes (while in transit, in open areas, vacation spots, in bars and hangouts, for example). There might be brief apprenticeships in work processes, recreation skills, politics, or the use of the city. Working and learning might be combined, as they sometimes are in research institutions or cooperative colleges, and not be a series of irrelevant lessons interspersed with drudgery. The school would be affirmed as a crucial institution, whereas it is likely to wither away as a separate physical plant.

Implementation

Since we are not recommending a single coordinated strategy, we can only indicate some means of implementing our main policy suggestions. The policies for accessibility and for encouragement of travel could be carried out by present transport agencies with new criteria that go beyond optimizing economy of use. Such performance standards can be built into the federal program on which local transport is increasingly dependent. Educational agencies devoted to exposing and amplifying environmental information and increasing the outlets for information could be established on a regional basis. To avoid creating a new monopoly with concomitant distortion and suppression, the function of opening additional channels must be kept apart from any attempt at over-all regulation of environmental information.

We will also need new institutions to increase environmental openness and responsiveness. One possibility might be to establish an agency charged with assuring that various city regions are open to access, that the kind of open space we have described and the means to use it are widely distributed. Such an agency might evolve from existing open-space programs. It would most certainly encourage experimental uses and responsive environments. Due to the failures of urban renewal, new attitudes toward city building are already in the wind. New criteria are needed for the design and management of urban development. Block grants for local self-help and for new community institutions can emphasize local control and decision making. Such programs already exist for farmers' cooperatives. Activities like Head Start, Upward Bound, and More Effective Schools may possibly presage developments *within* the schools (within in the sense of Trojan Horses) that will bring children out of the institutional shell into the kind of environment we have described. The new Leicestershire schools in England already demonstrate how a rich environment within the school may be used to stimulate freely chosen learning. Nevertheless, the educational establishment in the United States is well organized to resist such innovation in the near future, and thus we face the necessity of increasing educational opportunity outside the school.

Where might support be generated for these programs? John Seeley foresees a broad social movement, at least partially in this direction, for which the hippies are the early martyrs. Less optimistically, we can point to excluded and disaffected minorities. Others are left out as well — housewives, the elderly — for whom a more engaging environment might prove attractive indeed. There are the enlightened conservatives, for whom the individual is already the cause. Finally, a large group on the fringe of the education coalition is concerned with the growing problems of youth and may find such policies more compelling than the present one of suppression.

Difficulties and Issues

An environment for growth would be more exposed, accessible, and diverse, more open both physically and psychologically, more responsive to individual initiative and control. It would invite exploration and reward it; it would encourage manipulation, renovation, and self-initiated changes of many kinds. It would contain surprises and novel experiences, challenges to cognition and action. It would not be the most efficient and safe environment. Nor would it offer maximum stability and security. It would certainly not be extremely comfortable, nor even very beautiful, unless we look for beauty in the process of interaction rather than in static form.

We know a good deal about the developmental effects of environment in extreme situations, but less about the more normal case. Deprivation in environmental stimulus is particularly serious for early growth. Human babies brought up under sensorily deprived conditions do not flower so quickly or so fully as those growing under enriched conditions. In later life, sensory deprivation has negative consequences even for short periods. The McGill experiments have demonstrated that emotional discomfort and hallucinations follow quickly after the sensory isolation of human subjects. At the other extreme, there is considerable evidence to show that overload causes breakdowns in normal functioning. Besides experiencing confusion and stress, the individual becomes closed to all but the essential perceptions. In between, there is some optimum condition where the individual is stimulated sufficiently to maintain interest and alertness, but is not overloaded.

Most environments, however, no matter how stimulating initially, become dull and even "invisible" with repeated experience. Either the environment must continually change to maintain interest, or the individual must be motivated to search for new levels of experience and meaning in an environment that offers successive levels of complexity. Only when aspects of the familiar environment seem relevant to him will he attend to them, be they other people; indications of status, occupancy, or territory; signs of human activity; or symbols of strong cultural significance. Individuals may become sensitive to the aesthetic significance of the environment, because of its vivid, sensuous form or because they have been instructed by artists to see certain characteristics. (The romantic landscape painters once taught people to see the previously utilitarian or hostile countryside, and pop artists are now doing the same with the utilitarian or hostile products of our urban society.) The organization of the environment can facilitate or inhibit a person in experiencing these several levels of meaning and the learning by discovery that accompanies it.

By current evidence, the preschool years are the most critical. Young children are still learning about the environment as a matter of necessity, organizing their impressions of it through direct action and sharp, vivid perceptual imagery. Less word-bound than adults, their sensibilities are not so attenuated by the categories and concepts of conventional wisdom. If brought up in a stimulating environment, the child is naturally a poet, painter, sculptor, builder, storyteller, and actor of great expressiveness, if limited skill. Such interests are not fostered by our schools.

The years of adolescence are another critical period for growth. The teen-ager begins to explore the wider city. What does he know of the opportunities it offers? Where does he go and what does he do there? Does he find places where he can feel "at home"? The city is a stage for testing his identity and for playing various roles. How does it function? Beyond childhood and adolescence, there are specific moments in the individual's life when he is most open to new possibilities. These are not task-oriented periods, but times of leisure, holidays, commuting, waiting. They are opportunities for providing access to information or chances to engage one's self.

There are particular adult groups for whom development is crucial: the poor in general and Negroes in particular; those with the most time to engage in developmental activities (mothers of school-age children, retired people); and those desiring to change their life or facing an enforced change (the misfits, malcontents, and potential discards). We should also like to include those most likely to influence the development of others — the teachers, political leaders, executives — but we will have more difficulty with them. The environment should encourage involvement outside the realm of career. Task orientation narrows the range of relevant perceptual information, and it may be necessary to shock individuals to new levels of awareness. Yet environmental shock can hardly be imposed upon a city population.

What would be the benefits of our policies, as against the *laissez-faire* alternative? Poverty is not solely a question of income. We hope for a richer culture, legitimizing new styles of behavior. We look for the spreading of opportunities of achieving fulfillment, for the inclusion of excluded groups, perhaps for the downgrading of diplomas. Our city would build the competence to act as individuals or in small groups. In the process, the leadership now generally lacking would develop. We might even hope that the ethic of active mutual responsibility would come to replace the establishment ideal of service. We would also hope that in time social emphasis might shift from certification to performance; but we risk overselling our product.

What are the dangers of success? If completely open-ended development is encouraged, we may fail to train people for the tasks that must be done. Will we raise a generation of developed incompetents? Regular, perhaps even coercive, training might be a necessity for learning such skills as child rearing, group cooperation, verbal and other communication, and various vocational abilities. Exposure to social diversity is not necessarily growth enhancing unless it occurs under an institutional framework that requires cooperation on common problems. In our schools today, it may often reinforce stereotypes and distrust. The skills that result from an open-ended environment may be dangerous rather than just unneeded. They may include the ability to coerce or harm others, to damage property, or to destroy one's self. One can learn arson, knife wielding, and the use of drugs. The open world can be abused and neglected. Social controls will have to be exercised to suppress or divert dangerous developments.

This is the dilemma of developmental policy. Simply because new activities disturb custom or are similar to real dangers, they often seem dangerous without being so. Marihuana is classified with heroin rather than alcohol; sexual experimentation seems to undermine the family and the raising of children. In some cases, the implication of new developments may be highly uncertain. In others, a new way of doing things will run against the interest of a special group or threaten them psychologically without being of serious concern to society as a whole. More developed, participating individuals may make surprising changes, not always benign. If we encourage a developmental world, we must exercise greater social control and also be able to restrain that control, pending the appearance of real dangers. There will be protests and reactions. Education, except for limited and sanctioned ends, is a controversial affair.

In a world oriented to learning and development, we must allow for an escape from it. There must be retreats to which people can retire temporarily to digest what they have learned or permanently if they do not wish to change. If our policies are successful, it will be necessary to conserve places of stable, even archaic, ways of life. Many people may become increasingly impatient and dissatisfied with the mundane work of the world. Such a reaction would cause serious reverberations throughout the economy. The emphasis on an integrated life runs counter to the view that Western man has developed precisely because he has been able to abstract experience, reducing it to bare symbols. Some would suggest that the "highest values of man" are best developed in a judiciously impoverished environment. Although we disagree, there is no doubt that an environment as rich as we have envisioned would put a heavy load on the individual's ability to select and discard.

If we focus our efforts on individual development, we risk encouraging a wholly self-regarding attitude, a belief that the growth of self is the single central value or that the world is made for "fun" and novel experience. We intend, rather, that environmental novelty be primarily a device for encouraging long-term committed development. Growth of this kind is not always fun; it can be hard and protracted, exhausting and sometimes agonizing, even if deeply satisfying.

We would like to encourage skills that advance the development of others or require group interaction. Just how these features of commitment and a regard for others might be encouraged in each case is not always clear. Many side effects of the policies we advocate cannot be foreseen. Society will have to reappraise what is permissible. We see the city as a purposefully designed "school," a place for learning and growing throughout life. In our eyes, that is the brightest possibility for the future city, and there are definite public actions that might bring it about.

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On Children and Learning

Jerome Kagan

NUMEROUS critics of public education seem remarkably agreed that the school is to blame because the child does not develop an affection for learning. This seems to me to be a gross oversimplification.

The belief that the child loves to learn new skills is central to the accusation that schools destroy the child's zest for learning. "Watch any seven-year-old on the playground, in the attic, with his friends," the critics say. "He always seems to be learning something and smiling as he does. Since such joy is absent in school, the school must be doing something wrong."

This deduction glosses over an important difference between playground and school. On the playground the child decides what he wants to learn; in school he does not. Indeed, if children had naturally selected multiplication as a skill they wanted to acquire, we might never have invented schools.

The child does not find all tasks equally inviting, and the idea that he does is one fallacy in the current critique. Despite varying pedagogical conditions, the typical child's attitude toward academic tasks is negative. There are good reasons for this, and they form the essence of my observations here.

Achieving autonomy is a primary goal of the child. He strongly needs to believe that he is capable of deciding his actions and his values. One sees this need in pure form when the four-year-old fumbling with his shoelaces pushes his mother's intruding fingers aside. He wants to do the job himself. If one grants the power of this motive, it follows that the child will initially resist any adult-defined goal, regardless of its content or mode of presentation.

It is natural for the child to resist the arbitrary demands of a strange adult, especially when certain adhesive forces (identification and the motive to maintain an affectionate tie to an adult) are not strong in the school context. Children place a premium value on a skill if possessing it either makes them more like an admired person or brings them affection, praise, or promise of tangible rewards from the admired model. And this dynamic is usually reserved for the parent-child relationship.

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Given only 40 weeks of interaction and the dilution of his attention among 30 eager recipients, the average teacher cannot hope to be as effective a model as the parent. However, the child would assign value to the activities teachers encouraged if the teachers could become more effective models. Recruitment of such teachers is urgent.

If the teacher cannot exploit the child's motives, the child is not likely to show great enthusiasm for goals imposed before he has had a chance to consider their attractiveness. The child's lack of interest is less the fault of the teacher's tactics or a curriculum's pace than it is the result of the child's need to define his own areas of mastery, so that learning is his victory and not someone else's.

If society had no special preferences as to domain of competence, children would be more enthusiastic each morning. They would select tasks determined by the values of the peer group, the immediacy of feedback, the likelihood of success, and the degree to which sensory and motor delights were part of the learning enterprise. Spelling, arithmetic, history, and science would not rank high on their preference scale. We are the ones who decided to give those skills priority, and our decision was partly rational. If we believe in that decision, we must tolerate the dissonance generated by the possibility that the child may not agree.

Some elaborate and farfetched strategies might soften the child's opposition. We might, for example, devote the first two years of school to persuading the child why he should be there. The average seven-year-old views attending school as he does brushing his teeth. It is an arbitrary social requirement imposed by adults; one of a set of rituals that, taken together, define goodness. "To learn is good, to be dumb is bad" — most children, deprived or not, will tell you that.

We must be less Pollyannaish about academic mastery in the child. Reading, writing, and arithmetic are not, like speaking, running, and climbing, natural activities that the child decides to perfect. It is sensible to think of persuading him of their potential pleasure before attempting to teach them. If we were successful, the teacher in the later grades might be able to withdraw more completely and allow the child to pursue the goals he has decided are important.

One final point. By misinterpreting a common observation, critics implicate the school: Children are happy on the first school day but are bored by November first. Yet we have known for several thousand years that man takes joy from novelty and change in experience. Unfortunately, both child and adult rapidly adapt to the new, and ennui replaces zeal.

I do not wish to minimize the deficiencies in current educational practices, but rather to plead for an appreciation of the psychological complexity of the problem. The school is in need of improvement; the child is not completely a blossom; learning to divide is not necessarily a joy. With these less polarized premises let us continue this important debate.

How Children Learn

John Blackie

THE HUMAN race learned and achieved an enormous amount long before anyone began to think about the learning process. Man developed social institutions; discovered fire; and learned to feed, clothe, and protect his family without worrying very much about how he did it. One might conclude from the fact of man's survival that concern with the theory of learning is unnecessary and a waste of time, that experience and intuition will equip a teacher to teach.

Of course, knowledge of the latest theory of learning does not guarantee good teaching. Also, the urge to learn is so powerful in young children that they will survive quite a lot of mismanagement and discouragement, though by no means unscathed. And certainly educational thinkers are not all of one mind about the learning process — a great deal still is not known about it.

These might be good arguments for leaving the matter to the researchers until they can tell us more, while parents and teachers continue to work intuitively and pragmatically. But the validity of such arguments is questionable. No one really believes that all children make the most of themselves. The school is not equally successful with all, one of the reasons being the fact that not enough is known about the learning needs of children and therefore some of them receive the wrong treatment in school.

If we can discover anything about this process that will help us to help children to learn more, better, and more easily, we would be very wrong to neglect to do so simply because we cannot discover *everything.*

Basic, scientifically conducted research is essential, but it needs to be fed by the observation and trials and errors of countless teachers and parents. Intuition and experience have not found all the answers for all the children all of the time, but it would be a bad day for education if they came into disrepute. The only sensible course is to pursue all promising lines of inquiry.

A theory of learning that has received wide acceptance is Jean Piaget's. Piaget conducted an immense number of investigations into the ways in which children learn. He describes learning as being composed of two processes — assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation is what is done to what has to be learned so that it can be learned, and accommodation is what the learner has to do within himself in order to learn.

A very simple example may make this clearer. To learn to open a door, a child has to manipulate the handle, find out whether the door needs pushing or pulling, and what the weight of the door is. This is assimilation. But he must also do the right things, turn the handle the right way, push or pull with appropriate force, and thus accommodate himself to the experience of door opening. Through this process, the child establishes a pattern of behavior that Piaget calls a *schema* (pl. *schemata*) — something that can be repeated and generalized. Each time the child encounters the door, the *schema* is repeated.

But not all doors are the same. They have different kinds of handles. Some have latches. Some open out, some inward. Some are heavy; some are light. Each of these unfamiliar features will require assimilation and accommodation. The original simple *schema* will have to be modified.

Modifications will always be needed whenever a new experience is encountered. An elderly man who thinks he knows all about opening doors will have to assimilate and accommodate when he first meets one that opens automatically by means of a photoelectric cell, as he approaches it. His experience with this new kind of door will be momentarily disconcerting.

The process of assimilation and accommodation begins at birth, increases in intensity in early childhood, and continues throughout life, though the ability to assimilate and accommodate in most people declines as they grow older. The *schemata* increase in number, grow more and more complex, and interact with each other. In the early stages, learning takes place in the sensory-motor field. Children must see, hear, feel, smell, or taste things in order to learn what they are. They cannot yet learn by being told. They cannot form abstract or imaginary concepts.

They learn, too, by their own movement. They find that they cannot touch everything they see. They must stretch out or crawl in order to reach a desired object. Only later can they judge distance, and, much later still, understand what is meant when they are told of a distance. ("It is five miles from here".) As they grow older, they can assimilate abstractions and accommodate themselves to them. A mathematical process, a discussion of a seventeenth-century political issue, a debate on the existence of God — the process remains essentially the same.

But by the time this stage of learning is reached, the individual has undergone an immensely complex change. Each new experience, however slight, has had to be assimilated, and the resultant accommodation has slightly modified the whole system of the *schemata* that add up to the individual as he is.

Two points about *schemata* must be mentioned here. First, they need exercising. Everyone is familiar with this truth at the adult stage. "I used to play tennis a lot, but now I can hardly hit a ball." "I haven't read any Latin for years; I wouldn't understand a word now." Remarks like these are often heard, but they generally refer to matters of marginal importance or to activities which need the strength and vigor of youth for their performance.

If they had been of major importance they would not have been forgotten. But with young children *everything* is important. They are learning about the world they live in, and they must be allowed to do things over and over again and thus reassure themselves that what they have learned is true; that patterns do repeat themselves; that things, if not people, are constant.

The other point about *schemata* is that exercising them is pleasurable. Piaget has collected a great deal of evidence to this effect, and common observation confirms it. Anyone who has watched a two-year-old trying to fit two things together has noticed his smile and his delight when the task is accomplished. But many parents do not regard that sort of activity as learning. They think of it as play, and as the child grows older and goes to school, they contrast it with something different called work.

This business of play, and its contrast with work, now needs our attention. Presumably, children have played since the earliest days of man, but it was not until the appearance of Froebel's *The Education of Man* (in 1826) that the importance of play as a means of learning was first realized. Although all educators now recognize the value of play in the learning process, it is still little understood by many parents. If parents were to observe their children's play closely and systematically, they would soon realize that play is much more than the release of surplus energy. It is something undertaken with great seriousness and concentration and is unmistakably important to the child.

What is he doing as we watch him? For much of the time, he is finding out about materials. He is pouring water from one vessel to another, squeezing it out of a sponge, running it through a sieve, splashing it, using it to wet other things. He is running sand or earth through his fingers, building it into heaps, digging holes in it. He is piling blocks on top of each other, knocking them down again. He is trying to lift or drag heavy things; throwing light things into the air and watching them float or fall to the ground again.

These and countless similar kinds of play are the ways in which children discover the nature of materials and begin to form concepts of weight, size, texture, softness, hardness, plasticity, impermeability, transparency, and so on. In playing with materials, children begin also to discover the possibilities and limitations of their own powers. They can reach some things and not others. They can hold wet sand, but dry sand runs away. They can hold clay but not water. They can destroy what they have made. They can break a stick but not a log.

Through this kind of play, they unconsciously explore the physical world and discover how that world is related to their own inner feelings. Anyone who grew up without this ability to relate the physical world to himself would not survive for long. A knowledge of the properties of materials, of how they behave in particular circumstances, is vital in both primitive and advanced societies.

It is equally important for children to understand adults. Children are surrounded by adults who control the greater part of their day and who themselves are occupied in all sorts of ways that the child sees and wants to understand.

Once again, the child gains his knowledge through his play. He imitates the adults. He plays at being father or mother. Dolls and teddy bears become children whom he feeds, clothes, teaches, and punishes. By means of this fantasy of pretending, he begins to discover what it is like to be father or mother and thus he begins to understand their behavior.

All the adults who impinge on his life tend to be imitated — not only parents, but the milkman, the truck driver, the doctor, the mailman. And not only people: He will be a dog or a horse or a tiger he has seen at the zoo. His play serves a further purpose: It helps him to understand his own role, and at the same time enables him to escape from that role, to try other possibilities.

The situations that turn up in the child's life will also be dealt with by play. He will repeat a painful situation in play — an accident, a death, a parting — in order to make it more tolerable, to "live with it." Sometimes he reenacts the situation many times, and usually adds to it. Features that were suppressed in the first enactment are brought in until the whole experience comes into focus and control. This particular characteristic of play is often most clearly seen in child guidance clinics; a child who is deeply disturbed will, over a period of time, play out the situation that is causing the trouble and, to that extent, cure himself.

Around the end of the first year of life, the child begins to develop language. This is an exciting moment for young parents. Their baby is at last going to be able to communicate with them, to *tell* them what he has been feeling and thinking all this time. They give him every encouragement. They talk to him and listen to him. They do no systematic teaching, and yet by the time the child starts school, he has performed the most difficult learning feat of his whole life. He knows two or three thousand words, and he can speak fluently and clearly. How has this come about?

Various influences have been at work. A vital condition of learning has been supplied by his parents, who have encouraged, joined in, answered questions, read aloud, corrected. When they have *not* done this, the consequences are painfully obvious.

The influence of play is equally vital. The meanings of a great many words can only be learned through play. If we watch the play of children from age 2 or 3 right on through the early elementary grades, we notice how much language enters into it.

The meaning of a word is not usually an exact and limited thing which, once learned, is fixed and complete. "Daddy," for instance, is the man who lives in the house, who goes out in the morning and comes back in the evening, who shares a bedroom with Mommy, who fixes things, who sometimes gets very cross and irritable, who comes home drunk, and the like. The child at play mimes these and other appropriate characteristics, and uses and learns the words that stand for them.

He goes through the same process with materials. He learns the word *water* quite early, but its full range of suggestion can only be learned through play, through his having discovered all the things that water can and cannot do as well as the words (run, soak, drip, boil, freeze, gurgle, splash, etc.) that stand for those things.

All this continues to be true of children when they reach school age. It is not made less true by the fact that school represents a new phase of life and that most children expect to learn new things there. But the shock of separation from home and of finding oneself in a crowd of others is, for many children, quite considerable, and the experience requires its own period of assimilation and accommodation before the new demands become insistent.

What is more to the point, however, is that the process of learning develops gradually, and play continues to be of the greatest importance as a means of understanding and learning. If play is eliminated too soon, the delight and pleasure of learning may go with it and drudgery may take their place. Indeed, play is valuable in all work throughout life.

Watch a man cultivating a garden and, whether he is doing it for a living or as a hobby, do you not detect an element in the work that can be properly called play? When that element is absent, work becomes dull, repetitive, uninspiring, and worth doing only because you make money by it.

We have been talking so far almost as if teachers did not exist, as if all that was necessary for the education of children were intelligent parents and the right materials. It is perfectly true that the work of a teacher is much easier and much more productive if he has intelligent cooperation from parents and that, given suitable material, children will learn a great deal without further help from adults. Take a three-year-old down to the seashore, and you will not have to tell him what to do with sand, and stones, and shells.

I have intentionally emphasized this early stage of learning, because what goes on in the modern elementary school cannot be understood without some knowledge of it. This emphasis, however, must not lead anyone to believe that the role of the teacher is any the less important. Far from it! To apply the knowledge gained from research and experience makes very heavy demands on the patience, good humor, energy, ability, and skill of the teacher.

Learning and Memory

James L. McGaugh

THOSE who study man generally agree that it is our mental capacity that sets us apart from the other animals. Countless centuries ago, we domesticated plants and animals and began other technological achievements which surpass those of all other species. We also developed elaborate forms of communication, including language, which enabled us to transmit acquired knowledge to our offspring. All of these achievements are based, of course, upon our ability to learn: to record experiences and to utilize records of the past in dealing with the present. In adapting to our environment, we have relied upon learning ability to a greater extent than have any other animals. Learning ability is central to the biological and social evolution of man.

In most areas of human enterprise, technological achievements long preceded scientific understanding. Animal husbandry, agriculture, and even medicine antedated recorded history. In each of these areas, however, scientific discoveries of recent decades, in disciplines such as genetics, microbiology, and biochemistry, have so profoundly influenced technological developments and practices that the techniques of the farmer and the physician today bear little resemblance to those used even a few years ago. In areas essential for our survival, we have come to expect our technology to be continuously modified by scientific knowledge.

Although education is clearly essential for survival, the practices of education have been less significantly influenced by basic research findings than have those of agriculture and medicine. Understanding of the nature and biological bases of learning and memory has not, as yet, significantly affected the educational technology. Most of the significant innovations have been concerned either with the *content* of education or with procedures for automating traditional teaching methods; few innovations and varied practices have grown out of basic research concerning the nature of learning and memory.

There are several possible reasons for this state of affairs. First, we simply may not yet know enough about the processes of learning and memory. Second, inadequate traditional views of the nature of learning and memory may have been misleading. Third, we may not have made sufficient effort to examine the implications of recent findings for educational practices. Whatever the reasons for the present situation, it seems clear that if we are to develop effective educational systems, teachers, like farmers and physicians, will need to develop and use more practices which are based on scientific understanding. Society cannot afford the luxury of ignoring this important problem.

The problem is complicated by the fact that at one time educators made a valiant attempt to understand and use principles of learning theory, but the theory they worked with was neither very good nor very helpful. From the time of Thorndike to the present, the dominant theories have emphasized the learning of stimulus-response connections and have stressed the value of rewards.

It has been difficult to reconcile these emphases with the obvious fact that much, if not most, learning consists of acquiring information or knowledge as a consequence of some sensory impact (watching, listening, reading). Learning may occur *prior to* responding and *prior to* rewards. While overt responding undoubtedly influences learning, it does not do so simply by strengthening stimulus-response connections. Responding provides a repetition or rehearsal of acquired information and, in addition, provides an opportunity for correcting errors if what was remembered was incorrect. But the response cannot occur unless some learning has already occurred.

Understanding of the nature and bases of learning and memory has increased steadily if not dramatically over the past several decades. Unfortunately, we have not yet reached the stage where such information is as relevant for the teacher as the findings of genetics, biochemistry, and microbiology are for the farmer and physician. Nonetheless, the theories and implications emerging from recent findings should not be ignored. In this brief essay, I will discuss a few of them, emphasizing three points — the increasing tendency to view learning and memory from a biological perspective, the considerable emphasis being placed on learning and memory as complex processes involved in the storage and utilization of information, and a cautious but increasing interest in considering the educational implications of these emerging facts and theories.

Learning and Memory from a Biological Perspective

Theories of learning have, to a considerable extent, ignored biological factors. The psychologist, John B. Watson, once proposed to take any one of a dozen well-formed, healthy infants and train them to become ". . . any type of specialist . . . doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant, chief . . . even beggar man and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations. . . ." Beggar man and thief aside, this is, of course, the American Dream — an educational bill of rights that every one of us would like to accept as true.

In evaluating Watson's proposal, much depends upon the meaning of the words *healthy* and *well-formed*. Unfortunately, as far as ability is concerned, all men are not created equal. Because of inborn errors of metabolism, many infants will, regardless of training, never have the ability to become doctors and lawyers. They will be fortunate to learn to speak, feed themselves, and to tie their shoes.

"Normal" variations in intelligence also appear to be at least in part biologically based. Studies of the IQ's of twins have shown that in sets of identical twins the correlation of IQ scores is typically greater than +.80, while that for fraternal twins is usually approximately +.50. The similarity in IQ between pairs of fraternal twins is no greater than that of ordinary brothers and sisters. Numerous studies of this type show that, in general, similarity in IQ varies directly with the genetic similarity. Undoubtedly, heredity influences IQ scores.

Unfortunately, IQ tests were not developed to provide a measure of a psychological process or set of processes. They were developed simply on an empirical basis to provide a score which can be used to predict academic success. As such, IQ tests are used to predict — not to diagnose. They are, of course, not simply tests of learning and memory. They do, however, include subtests which provide measures of learning and memory.

Experimental studies using laboratory rats have shown that it is possible to develop, by selective breeding, strains of rats that are bright and strains that are dull on specific learning tests. Further, numerous different strains of mice specially developed for tumor incidence have been found to differ in learning ability on various tasks. In mice and men, learning ability is genetically influenced.

Learning ability is not, however, completely determined by genetic factors. David Krech and his colleagues at the University of California at Berkeley have found that environmental stimulation influences the learning ability of rats.

Rats reared in an enriched laboratory environment are better learners than rats reared in less stimulating surroundings. Again, however, biological factors appear to play a role; the rats who were better learners differed from the other rats in several morphological and biochemical measures.

We do not yet know in detail how genes and environmental stimulation act to produce normal variations in intelligence and learning ability. The learning tests used with rats and mice provide rather crude measures of learning ability — much in the same way that IQ tests provide crude measures of children's mental capacities. In spite of this crudeness, the tests are able to provide indirect measures of processes which are biologically based.

Learning and Memory as Complex Processes

The processes underlying learning and memory are undoubtedly extremely complicated. Consider what is involved in learning a telephone number. First, the information has to be attended to and received; second, the information must be registered or stored in some way; third, the information must be retained for a period of time; and fourth, it must be retrieved when needed. Learning ability depends upon the efficiency of each of these processes. Since deficiencies in one or more of the systems could cause poor learning, we need to know the nature of the brain processes underlying these systems.

Studies of memory in humans with memory defects have provided some leads. Dr. Brenda Milner at Montreal Neurological Institute has conducted studies of memory in patients with brain lesions in the temporal lobes of both hemispheres of the brain. In some ways, the memory processes of such patients are fairly efficient. Immediate or short-term memory may be normal, and there may be no impairment of the patient's ability to remember events which occurred some time prior to the brain damage. IQ scores are usually unaffected. However, although the patients may appear to be quite normal, they are not. They have completely (or almost completely) lost the ability to acquire and retain new information. The case of one such patient, who received brain damage 10 years ago, illustrates the nature of the defect:

"Ten months after [the occurrence of the brain damage] the family moved to a new house . . . situated a few blocks away . . . on the same street. . . . A year later the man had not yet learned the new address, nor could he be trusted to find his way home alone because he would go to the old house. . . . Moreover, he is unable to learn where objects constantly in use are kept. . . . He will do the same jigsaw puzzles day after day without showing any practice effects and reads the same magazines over and over again without ever finding the contents familiar."

Research in my laboratory and in numerous other laboratories has shown that it is possible to produce amnesia in animals experimentally, by administering treatments including electroshock stimulation and various drugs, after animals are trained on a task. Amnesia results only if the treatments are given within a few minutes or hours after the training. The magnitude of the amnesia decreases as the interval between training and treatment is increased.

Findings such as these suggest that information can be retrieved from at least two memory systems: a short-term system and one for long-term storage. Both brain damage and the treatments such as drugs and electroshock stimulation appear to block storage processes in the long-term memory system.

It seems possible that at least some "normal occurring" deficiencies in learning and memory might be due to impaired functions of the two memory systems. Studies of memory disorders in geriatric patients and retarded children provide some support for this view. For example, W. K. Caird at the University of British Columbia reported results suggesting that, at least in some cases, the memory disorder in elderly patients may be due to a loss of efficiency in the long-term memory storage system.

Millard C. Madsen at UCLA has found that, in comparison with children with high IQ's (an average of approximately 120), children with low IQ's (an average of approximately 60) appear to have poorer short-term memory. Further, the lower-IQ children required longer intervals between training trials for optimal learning. This suggests that mental retardation may be due in part to deficiencies of short-term and long-term memory storage systems. In one study Madsen found that children with low IQ's could learn almost as efficiently as children with high IQ's when a relatively long interval lapsed between repetitions of the material.

Additional evidence that memory storage involves several systems has come from our studies of drug effects on memory storage. We have found in our laboratory that it is possible to enhance learning of laboratory animals by administering certain stimulant drugs shortly after training. These findings indicate that the drugs facilitate learning by enhancing long-term memory storage processes. The effects, like those obtained with memory impairing treatments, are time-dependent. Facilitation is obtained only if the drugs are administered within an hour or two following the training.

A large number of drugs are now known to enhance memory. Many appear to facilitate long-term memory storage in the manner just described. Others appear to act on short-term memory and retrieval systems. Unfortunately, not much is known about the specific ways in which the drugs influence neural functioning to produce memory effects, and we do not yet know whether comparable effects can be obtained with humans.

Implications

Although much has been learned in recent years about the nature and biological bases of learning and memory, we have probably not yet reached the point where such knowledge is of immediate significance for educational technology. All indications are that this point is rapidly being approached, however. Even at the present state of knowledge there are some important implications.

First, it is probably time to discard intelligence tests as we know them now — and time to develop tests designed to assess specific processes of learning and memory. Such tests could be used to diagnose individual differences in learning efficiency and might even prove useful (as IQ tests have not) in helping to develop teaching practices designed to deal with individual differences in learning and memory.

Second, it may be time to anticipate the possibility that, in the future, drugs might be used to correct learning and memory deficiencies in the same way that corrective lenses are now used to correct visual defects. Drug treatment of memory defects could become as common as drug treatment of allergies and emotional disorders. It may be that some day, by these means, educators will be able to fulfill John B. Watson's dream. Perhaps it will be the right of every child to have the opportunity to become a doctor, lawyer, merchant, or chief. The social and economic implications of this possibility are enormous. Perhaps we should begin to give them some thought.

The Role of Intuition in Learning

Blythe Clinchy

ANYONE who writes about intuition is faced immediately with a problem of definition. Webster defines intuition as "immediate apprehension." When we say that we intuitively understand something (a problem or a person or a poem), I think we mean that we know something without knowing how we came to know it and without being able to prove it.

We may not even be able to find the words to express our understanding. Intuitive judgments are hard to put into words, and they are hard to justify. They seem to occur suddenly, out of nowhere, rather than as the logical outcome of a step-by-step analytic procedure, although the sudden insight may follow upon long hours of seemingly fruitless pondering. Sometimes intuitions have a kind of validity that is almost visual: We seem to "see" the solution before us. At other times, we know our idea to be fragile and incomplete: It is no more than a guess, a vague sense of how to proceed.

This is what intuitive thinking is like. It is not the only mode of thinking, but it is one we all use — more, perhaps, than we like to admit. And it is, I shall argue, a useful mode of thought. But the climate in many of our classrooms is not conducive to the expression of intuition, let alone to its development. What are some of the conditions that tend to discourage intuitive thinking, and what are some of the consequences?

One such condition is the emphasis we place on verbal skills. To a very large degree, our measure of a child's understanding of an idea is his ability to put that idea into words. If a child can say something, we assume he knows it; if he cannot say it, we assume he does not know it. It is perhaps obvious that the first proposition is false. You can teach a parrot to state the definition of the word *continent*, but he cannot understand the concept.

The falsity of the second proposition is perhaps not so obvious. But consider the five-year-old's grasp of English grammar. He cannot tell you the rules for forming the past tense, but he uses them consistently, even when they result in an "incorrect" sentence ("I goed to the store"). Which is the better test of the child's understanding of the rules of grammar — his ability to state the rules or his ability to use them?

Most of a young child's understanding is of this intuitive form — wordless, unexamined, implicit. Piaget's work suggests that before about seven years of age, a child is unable to reflect upon his own ideas: He thinks and he knows, but he does not think about what he knows. And the work of Jerome Bruner and his associates suggests that young children represent the world to themselves not so much in words and symbols as in images that do not easily translate into words. If images and intuitions were outgrown at an early age, most teachers could afford to ignore them, but I believe, with Bruner, that intuition is more a stage in thinking than a stage in life. Faced with any novel, complex problem, we all tend to fall back on intuitive modes of thought.

A child's inability to find words for his thoughts has important consequences in a classroom where words are the medium of cognitive exchange. The most important consequence, perhaps, is that the teacher remains ignorant of the child's intuitive notions and so cannot combat them or exploit them, whichever is needed.

If, for example, a child cannot state his definition of the concept of *force*, the teacher may assume that he has no notion of force whatsoever. As one physicist found, however, children do have a primitive conception of force, one that is very different from the physicist's concept. The physicist noticed that when children press their hands against the surface of a table, they tend to think of force as emanating entirely from the pressure of their hands, rather than as the product of the interaction of hand and table.

Or consider the notion of *balance*. When children first come to school, they already know something about balance, although, again, it is rarely a knowledge they can put into words. When, for example, a smaller child climbs on the other end of a seesaw, the larger child "intuitively" moves toward the middle of the seesaw.

The child's intuitive notions concerning force must be combated if the teacher is to supplant them with more scientific concepts. The child's notion of balance, on the other hand, can be built upon, exploited, in order to bring him to fuller understanding.

In either case, whether the intuition is contrary to or consonant with the idea the teacher is trying to convey, instruction will be easier if the teacher is aware of the child's preconceptions. Otherwise, the child will either distort the new subject matter to make it conform to his old intuitions, or he will compartmentalize it — that is, fail to see the connection or contradiction between the new scientific concept and the older, intuitive one.

In conducting interviews with fifth grade children, I have been amazed by the degree to which ideas that seem to us adults completely contradictory can coexist in a child's mind. In one case, a little boy and I went to considerable pains to construct a sort of time line representing the history of the earth on a piece of tape extending around the walls of the room, demonstrating the approximate dates at which certain forms of life appeared on earth (and at which some others, like the dinosaurs, disappeared). The idea, in part, was to show how brief man's existence has been in comparison to that of many other creatures.

The boy attacked the job of constructing the tape with gusto and seemed to be learning a great deal. I was, in fact, feeling somewhat smug when, during the course of a conversation the next day, the little boy said: "Of course, man has lasted longer than anything else." How much more effective the lesson might have been had I first asked the child to construct his own rough, "intuitive" time line before building the correct one. He could then have compared the two versions and seen for himself the discrepancies between his own view and the accepted one.

Bruner has suggested the technique of presenting "counter-intuitive" information — facts or ideas that violate the child's intuition and so jolt him into awareness. But in order to engineer a collision between fact and intuition, we must first identify the intuition. We must know what a child thinks before we can violate his notions.

The compartmentalization phenomenon is not limited to young children or to the coexistence of contradictory ideas. The most malignant form of compartmentalization is that which divides what one "really knows" from what one learns in school or that which divides the way one thinks in school from the way one thinks outside of school.

I have witnessed this sort of compartmentalization among college seniors studying psychology. Inside the classroom these students attack problems of human behavior with admirable rigor, demanding definitions, assessing evidence, questioning conclusions sharply. Outside the classroom, however, these same students all too often appear to interpret the human behaviors they encounter in an offhand, intuitive fashion invoking a kind of common-sense psychology utterly alien to the methods and findings of academic psychology.

We succeed in making these students think analytically in class, but outside our domain their old intuitive ways persist. By failing to encourage intuitive thinking in class, we may convince our students that this mode of thought is an irrelevant or indecent way of approaching formal subject matter. We do not actually stamp out intuition; rather, I think, we drive it underground.

Most educators agree that in trying to educate we should start where the student is. Yet few of us make much effort to draw out a child's preconceptions on a given topic before attempting to replace them with new conceptions. Because most of these preconceptions are intuitive — unformulated and unexamined — the job is not easy.

Since the child himself is often unaware of the conceptions he holds, it is hard for him to make the teacher aware of them. In such a situation, it behooves the teacher to behave somewhat like an experimentalist, to set up situations where the child can be made to behave in such a way as to reveal his conceptions. The child can be asked to build things, to draw things, to act things out.

Teachers can also try to get their pupils to talk about these notions. Although intuitive ideas are usually not formulated in words, this does not mean that they cannot be verbalized. Given time, wordless notions can be translated into words. In many classrooms where I have worked, children are not given time to do this. One teacher I observed recently seemed to pride herself on the bustling routine she had established. "No time to fool around in *this* class, children. We're busy every minute."

As John Holt has observed, in the typical classroom children are "too busy to think." The premium is on fast verbal response; the child who is struggling to shape his idea into speech is passed over in favor of the one who is ready with the right words.

Students of the creative process have described that process as having four stages: preparation, incubation, illumination, and verification. Edith Weiskopf has pointed out that we educators work harder at teaching the first and the last stages than the middle ones. Perhaps this is because incubation and illumination take time. Incubation, in particular, is a slow process, and the teacher who waits for one child's idea to incubate risks boring the other students. Perhaps this argues for more individualistic, independent study, since incubation is a private process, best pursued by a child alone with his thoughts.

Even when an intuition can be framed in words, it is hard to justify. The idea may be clear, but its origins are obscure. To explain the basis of the judgment is difficult. Intuitive judgments thus fare poorly in classrooms where the teacher demands justification. It is easy to see why we insist that students back up their notions: We want them to have reasonable opinions, not irrational prejudices. I think the demand for justification is not harmful, but its timing often is. We ask for reasons before the student is ready to give them.

If a student has arrived at his idea through a process of logical analysis, it does no harm to ask his reasons. The reasons have preceded the judgment, and he is ready to produce them. If, however, the student's judgment is an intuitive one, it has not been preceded by reasons. Intuition works the other way around. We get the idea and then look for reasons for or against it. (Some evidence suggests that one of the characteristics of the creative — as opposed to the less creative — thinker is the ability to delay evaluation of his own ideas. Less creative thinkers subject their ideas to premature evaluation. More creative thinkers welcome new ideas to their minds, however bizarre and insubstantial they may appear at first. Later, they, too, subject their notions to careful scrutiny, but for a time, they just let them be.)

College students sometimes complain that every time they are brave enough to express an idea in class, the teacher barks back, "Why do you say that? What is your evidence?" If this sort of treatment produced students able to support every idea that came to mind, it might be worthwhile, but I think it does not. At best, students learn to shut up in class. At worst, they learn to regard their own ideas as worthless, and to feel it is safer to accept the precise, well-substantiated conclusions of others than to attempt to develop their own frail thoughts.

This is ironic, because these precise, well-substantiated conclusions probably began as mere intuitions. Thinking does not usually begin with recipes for solution or even with a well-formulated hypothesis. It begins, often, with some sense of puzzlement or with a feeling that something is wrong, that there is a gap or a contradiction somewhere. Intuition as a first stage in problem solving tends to be oriented toward the problem as a whole, rather than to its parts. I suspect that the principal use of intuition is to get the thinking process going and to give it a sense of direction. Faced with a problem where the data are too sparse or too complex to suggest a clear route to solution, one chooses, intuitively, a path that seems possible or probable. And even if this path leads to a dead end, one may glimpse a more probable one along the way.

No wonder students often distrust this first intuition. What they read in their textbooks and, sometimes, what they hear from their teachers does not suggest to them that good ideas can come from such a shaky foundation. Their textbooks often give an account of the analytic proof or justification of the conclusions a scholar or scientist has reached, but it is not an account of how he arrived at his conclusions.

A geometrical proof is an elegant thing; but the process of constructing the proof may be highly inelegant, full of false starts, accidental findings, and the like, all of which are edited out of the published version. Yet students, lacking an honest description of the origin and evolution of an idea, may take these printed words as descriptive of the thinker's cognitive processes. In contrast, their own intuitive gropings seem stupid indeed.

One of the great virtues of some of the new science curriculums is that they allow children to mess around in the actual making of science, rather than simply acquainting them with the outcomes of others' gropings. Many of the new educational techniques let the child in on the beginning of the problem-solving process — let him find the problem, instead of presenting it to him; let him gain some intuitive sense of the whole before proceeding to break it into bits. In the past, we have often been content to give the child an algorithm — a series of steps guaranteed to take him to the right answer in the end — and then ask him to execute these steps.

Max Wertheimer described a class in which the teacher, having taught the students how to find the area of a rectangle, enumerated the steps required in arriving at the area of a parallelogram: "Drop a perpendicular here," and so on. The teacher failed to explain the point of these steps, which was to transform the parallelogram into a rectangle while conserving its area. Students who memorized the steps could find the area of figures very like the one used by the teacher, but when Wertheimer showed them quite different figures whose areas could be found by using the same principle, they were helpless.

Wertheimer found, however, that much younger children could, if given time, grasp the structure of the problem; and once they grasped it, they could proceed quickly to a solution, without the help of recipes. One little girl, for instance, after pondering for some time, asked for a pair of scissors, lopped a right triangle off one side of the parallelogram and attached it to the other side of the figure. With good thinkers, as Holt has said, the method of solution arises out of the problem itself, rather than being provided by the teacher.

For many of the problems that we face in life, sure-fire algorithms are not easily available. We are forced to begin not with a recipe but with a guess or a hunch. Even when the hunch turns out to be wrong, it may serve to get the thinker started. The other day I heard a teacher say reprovingly to a student, "You're just guessing." True, much of the guessing that goes on in school is inappropriate. It is better not to guess, perhaps, at the answer to 5 x 5 or the population of Bulgaria; better to look it up. And often a child's guessing is a kind of defensive strategy: Pushed to the wall, he takes a wild guess, in the hope of getting the teacher off his back.

Yet guessing *is* appropriate in some situations — when, for example, not enough information is available to make certain which answer is right. After all, a hypothesis is simply a guess in testable form. Teachers who have tried tell me that games like "Twenty Questions" can train wild guessers to guess wisely. In playing such games, the children come to see that a wise guess is one that is guided by the information at hand.

A more serious problem than the wild guesser is the child who appears unable to guess, who is afraid to take a chance, for fear of being wrong. And this brings me to one final classroom condition that mitigates against the expression of intuition — the high cost of error.

Intuition, precisely because it so often functions as a first approximation, a leap that gets one going, is full of risks. Intuitions, to put it bluntly, are often wrong. In fact, this liability to error is one reason for getting the intuition out where it can be looked at.

Unexamined, intuitions are incorrigible; once exposed, they can be corrected. But if we encourage intuitive thinking only to slap it down, we do the child no service. The teacher who allows his children to operate intuitively must be willing to tolerate a high degree of error. He must be willing to stand by while the child tackles problems that are too hard for him, races up blind alleys, and strays down primrose paths into irrelevance.

John Holt writes, "The bright child is willing to go ahead on the basis of incomplete understanding and information. He will take risks, sail uncharted seas, explore where the landscape is dim, the landmarks few, the light poor. . . . But the dull child will go ahead only when he thinks he knows exactly where he stands and exactly what is ahead of him."

I agree with Holt's argument that "nobody starts off stupid," that we make them that way, mainly by "making them afraid,

afraid . . . of making mistakes, of failing, of being *wrong*." If the cost of error is high, the child will learn to disregard his intuitions and listen, instead, for "what the teacher wants."

The other day I was trying out some experimental materials on a 10-year-old boy. When we had finished, the boy asked me if I had found out what I wanted to know. Yes, I said, I'd found out that the materials were no good; they didn't work. To console me, he said that Edison once remarked he had never had a failure because it was always useful to find out what really didn't work.

I think the boy was also trying to comfort himself with these words. He is a child who thinks in words he cannot spell, whose ideas come too fast for proper penmanship. At the beginning of the school year, he wrote enthusiastic, far-reaching essays for his teacher, but these came back scarred with red ink indicating improper spelling, uncrossed t's, and comments like "Are you sure?" His essays now are brief; they contain no long words, no uncrossed t's, and no ideas. His teacher thinks he is learning to spell and to write. I think he is learning a deadlier lesson, that one should tailor one's reach to fit one's grasp.

In teaching children this lesson, we make them, again in Holt's words, "afraid to gamble, afraid to experiment, afraid to try the difficult and the unknown." I am not suggesting, nor is Holt, that we should protect a child from failure. Many of the preschooler's experiments end in failure, but he goes on experimenting nonetheless. It is not failure itself but punishment for failure that lowers a child's confidence in his powers.

We can best help a child to succeed, not by telling him "exactly where he stands and exactly what is ahead of him," but by allowing him to fail with impunity and by sharpening the tools he will need in venturing into the unknown.

One of these tools, I have argued, is intuition. Although it is not the most rigorous form of thinking, nor the safest, it is a legitimate mode of thinking. It is, I submit, the way most of us are forced to think, if we think at all, when faced with the "difficult and unknown." If we do not help children to deepen and discipline their intuitive powers, we leave them defenseless in that dim landscape that all of them will enter, from time to time, when they emerge from our classrooms.

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Self-Concept as Related to Motivation and Learning

Don E. Hamachek

AS WILLIAM James put it, "The Self is the sum total of all that a person can call his." More than that, it is a person's awareness of his individual existence in terms of all of the beliefs, attitudes, and opinions which he holds about himself.

Increasing evidence indicates that student failures in basic school subjects — as well as the misguided motivation and lack of academic involvement characteristic of the underachiever, the dropout, the culturally disadvantaged, and the failure — may be due in part to unhealthy perceptions of the self and the world. Many students, for example, have difficulty in school, not because of low intelligence or poor eyesight, but because they have learned to consider themselves unable to do academic work. This seems to be equally true in special school activities, such as athletics, dramatics, club participation, or public speaking.

A pioneer in this area was Prescott Lecky (1), who was one of the first to point out that low academic achievement may be related to a student's conception of himself as unable to learn academic material. He observed, for example, that some children made the same number of errors in spelling per page regardless of the difficulty of the material. Although one would normally expect more errors on harder material, these children spelled as though they were responding to a built-in upper limit beyond which they could not go. It occurred to Lecky that they were responding more in terms of how they *thought* they could spell than in terms of their *actual* spelling abilities. He arranged to have a group of these children spend some time with a counselor who helped them explore their feelings about their spelling abilities. As a consequence of these discussions and despite the fact that these children had no additional work in spelling whatever, there was a notable improvement in their spelling!

There is evidence to suggest that the way a student feels about himself and his ability to do schoolwork is positively related to what he thinks others expect of him. For example, students with low academic self-concepts are likely to perceive parents and teachers as having low expectations for them. That is, they perceive others as having little faith in their (the students') ability to do well in school in the first place (2).

Experiments in behavioral research have shown that the experimenter's *expectations* for his subjects' performance can be a significant determinant of how the subjects actually respond. For example, within each of the six grades in a particular school were three classrooms, one each of children performing at above average, average, and below average levels of scholastic achievement. In each of these classes, an average of 20 percent of the children were identified to the teachers as having scores on the *Test for Intellectual Blooming* which suggested that they would show unusual academic gains during the academic year. Actually, the children had been picked at random from the total population of children taking the same test. Eight months after the experimental conditions were instituted, all children were retested with the same IQ test. What were the results? For the school as a whole, those children from whom the teachers had been led to expect greater intellectual gain showed significantly greater gain in IQ score than did other children in the school! In fact, the lower the grade level, the greater the IQ gain (3). Apparently teachers treated the "brighter" children more positively and more favorably, and the children responded in kind by showing greater gains in IQ.

The results of these and other studies should serve to remind us that a student's learning and motivation in school may be more closely related to his perception of our expectations for him than we think.

Self-Concept and Learning: Research Conclusions

A considerable fund of research evidence relating self-concept to school learning has been accumulating in recent years. To give you a feeling for the relationships which have been uncovered, following are summary statements drawn from the major conclusions of seven different self-concept studies. Among other things, it has been found that —

1. In terms of their perception of self, individuals have a definite commitment to perform as they do. Other things being equal, those who do not achieve *choose* not to do so, while those who do achieve *choose* to do so (4).

2. There was a significant positive relationship between immature self-concepts and reading disabilities in a third- and a sixth-grade class (5).
3. There was a significant positive relationship between high self-concept and school achievement in a group of 102 fifth- and sixth-grade children (6).
4. There was a significant positive relationship between self-concept of ability and school achievement over a six-year period from grade 6 through grade 12 (7).
5. Measures of self-concept and ratings of ego-strength made at the beginning of kindergarten were found to be more predictive of reading achievement two and one-half years later than were measures of intelligence (8).
6. Male achievers feel more positive about themselves than do male underachievers (9).
7. Underachieving academically capable high school boys were found to have more negative perceptions of self and of others and were less emotionally stable than achievers (10).

When it comes to motivation and learning, self-concept research points to a simple conclusion: Underachievers sadly underestimate themselves. Which leads us to the next logical question.

What Can Teachers Do?

Just as a child *learns* to walk and *learns* to talk, he *learns* about himself. Each of us learns who he is and what he is from the ways in which he was treated while growing up, not to mention how he is treated on a daily basis by those around him. This is what the psychiatrist Harry Stack Sullivan called "learning about the self from the mirror of other people." Like each of us, our students learn to view themselves as liked, acceptable, and capable from *having been* liked and accepted, and from *having been* successful. The crucial key to increasing the proportion of students with adequate self-concepts, with adequate feelings of self-esteem, is to help students toward success experiences that teach them they are worthwhile people.

How can we provide more students with positive self-concepts — with the "I can" feeling? First we must understand that a positive sense of self is teachable. If one's ideas about himself are a function of experience, then, whether we like it or not, young people learn about themselves in the classroom. And what is learned can be taught. The question is not whether we approve or disapprove of enhancing motivation and learning through teaching for a positive sense of self but whether the effects of our teaching are positive or negative. For the 7.5 million youngsters expected to drop out of school in the 1960's, the effect will clearly have been the latter.

If we, as teachers, are to facilitate motivation and learning through self-concept enhancement, we must—

1. Understand that we teach what we *are*, not just what we *say*. We teach our own self-concepts far more often than we teach our subject matter.
2. Understand that anything we do or say could significantly change a student's attitude about himself for better or for worse. Further, we must understand the implications of our role as persons who are important or "significant" to students if we are to utilize that role properly.
3. Understand that students, like us, behave in terms of what seems to be true, which means that many times learning goes on, not according to what the facts are, but according to how they are perceived.
4. Be willing not just to teach subject matter, but to deal with what the subject matter *means* to different students. In the truest sense of the word, we must be as willing to deal with the *interpretation* of a subject as we are to deal with the *information* about it.
5. Understand that we are not likely to get results simply by telling someone he is worthy. Rather, we imply it through trust and the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual respect. One good way to start is to take time to listen to what the students have to say and to use their ideas when possible.
6. Understand that teacher behavior which is distant, cold, and rejecting is far less likely to enhance self-concept, motivation, and learning than behavior which is warm, accepting, and discriminating.

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Teaching and Learning Through Inquiry

Byron G. Massialas

IN AN increasing number of classrooms, the students, instead of remembering isolated facts, are learning how to learn. Their teachers, instead of acting as dispensers of ready-made conclusions, are teaching them to think for themselves and to use the methods of disciplined inquiry to explore concepts in the various domains of knowledge and to study the world about them.

Teaching through inquiry is the process of formulating and testing ideas and implies an open classroom climate that encourages wide student participation and the expression of divergent points of view. A truly inquiry-centered class is a small society whose members utilize the concepts and skills of the arts and the sciences, draw upon their own personal experiences, and attempt to deal judiciously with important natural and social problems. In such a class both teachers and students perform new roles.

The roles of the teacher who stresses the process of inquiry fall into six major categories. These are actual, not ideal, roles, and all teachers, regardless of their subject matter, can perform them. Briefly, the roles are as follows:

1. *The teacher as planner.* In this role, the teacher carefully plans learning activities for a period of time, possibly a six-week period or a semester. He collects and prepares materials for classroom use and organizes and times the spacing and sequence of these materials. In the absence of readily available published inquiry programs, the teacher either uses imagination to create new ways of utilizing available data or constructs some of his own materials.

2. *The teacher as introducer.* It is important to introduce a new learning experience with material that will serve as a springboard for inquiry and discussion. Timing is important, too. The teacher needs to be able to seize on the "teachable moment."

The introductory material — whether it is haiku, an anecdote, or a math problem — becomes what we call the *discovery episode.* The discovery episode is designed to create a problematic, pro-

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vocative situation in which the students are prompted to develop concepts and relationships for themselves. Sometimes the students introduce inquiry springboards from their own repertory of experiences.

3. *The teacher as questioner and sustainer of inquiry*. The teacher's general attitude is that of a fellow inquirer who has no final and absolute answers to give out. Through his style and manner of presentation, he makes clear from the beginning that all statements or claims to knowledge are to be examined and then accepted or rejected in the open forum of ideas. He further develops and reinforces the notion that neither authors of texts nor students and teachers are immune from questioning and detailed probing. Regardless of the age, sex, personality, and cultural-ethnic background of the participant in classroom inquiry, his statements are to be considered on the basis of the grounds that support them. No knowledge claim is ever better than the data on which it stands.

Through a consistent pattern of questioning, the teacher consistently tries to encourage the exploration of different alternatives regarding a problem. For example, he may question the basis for certain positions on social action or hypothesize about an unexplained event.

As a matter of strategy, the teacher usually redirects questions addressed to him. For instance, in a discovery situation relating to political leaders and their patterns of leadership, the teacher presents several unidentified and unexplained pictures of leaders. The students invariably demand information about the cultural origin, the historical period, or the geographic location of the person in the picture. However tempted the teacher may be to supply the answers, he throws the questions back to the students.

In this context, the teacher plays the role of the devil's advocate, constantly prodding the students and making them prove the defensibility of their positions or points of view. His general posture with regard to knowledge and learning is dialectical rather than didactic. He emphasizes the critical exchange of ideas rather than the imposition of ideas on the basis of authority derived from his position.

4. *The teacher as manager*. The teacher performs such routine management tasks as recognizing students, making announcements, maintaining reasonable order, and keeping attendance records. More important, however, is the managerial function he performs by using all available concepts, techniques, and data

sources to engage students in planning and executing inquiries of their own.

5. *The teacher as rewarder*. The teacher rewards students for imaginative and creative work and for participation in the process of inquiry. He suggests, encourages, or praises but never commands, criticizes, or punishes. In contrast to a traditional teacher who frowns upon the unorthodox, the inquiry teacher constantly encourages students to play their hunches and praises them when they do. Rewarding the free exchange and testing of ideas in class leads to higher levels of motivation and more student participation.

6. *The teacher as value investigator*. When dealing with questions of value, the teacher places emphasis on the process of inquiry and on the idea that value judgments must be publicly defensible. He may eventually take a definite position on a particular issue, but he refrains from doing so in the introductory phases of discussion. The teacher operates on the assumption that values are not taught but are examined in the open market of ideas.

The teacher should not be frustrated when a discussion of social issues does not produce definite conclusions. The worth of exercises dealing with human values is not necessarily the forming of conclusions based on consensus. Rather, it is the process of listening to different views and their implications, forming a clear position, examining supporting evidence, judging its relevance, developing objective criteria for validating a recommendation for social action, and, finally, acting upon the recommendation.

For the students, the most important result of learning through inquiry is a change in attitudes toward knowledge. As they engage in the dialogue of inquiry, they begin to view knowledge as tentative rather than absolute, and they consider all knowledge claims as being subject to continuous revision and confirmation. As they try to provide their own answers to difficult questions about man and his environment, they begin to understand the complexity of verifying knowledge and the processes involved in it.

Methods of inquiry and discovery can be used profitably in classes that include students of different academic abilities. Not only superior students but also those who have lower-than-average IQ scores prove to be capable of performing such intellectual operations as defining a problem, hypothesizing, drawing logical inferences, gathering relevant data, and generalizing. Given the appropriate psychological and cognitive climate, these students can perform on a high level and are as highly motivated as those having so-called superior abilities.

Our studies show that the introduction of an issue, whether of a personal or social nature, elicits a great deal of student discussion and the expression of a variety of viewpoints. As they present their ideas, which are continuously challenged by their peers, students begin to see that value judgments cannot be accepted solely on faith. They realize that judgments about the worthiness of a social action, a group project, or personal conduct stand or fall on the basis of the explicit grounds that support them.

Lateral Thinking

Edward de Bono

HOW MANY people will have a single new idea in the course of their lives? How many would be capable of inventing the wheel if it had not been invented? Some people always seem to be having new ideas, while others of equal intelligence never do.

Since Aristotle, logical thinking has been exalted as the one effective way in which to use the mind. Yet the very elusiveness of new ideas indicates that they do not necessarily come about as a result of logical thought processes. Some of us are aware of another sort of thinking that is most easily recognized when it leads to those surprisingly simple ideas that are obvious only after they have come about.

Let's take a look at this sort of thinking, which is quite distinct from logic and often more useful in generating new ideas. I use the term *lateral thinking* to describe this sort of thinking and the term *vertical thinking* to denote the conventional logical process. The latter is like digging one hole deeper and deeper; the former requires abandoning the hole and striking off to the sidelines to dig numerous experimental holes. Because the process of education is usually effective and because education is designed to make people appreciate the holes their betters have dug for them, hole hopping is rare.

Lateral thinking is easiest to appreciate when seen in action, as in the following situation:

A merchant owes a huge sum of money to an old and ugly moneylender. The moneylender fancies the merchant's beautiful young daughter and proposes a bargain. He will put a black pebble and a white pebble into an empty moneybag, and then the girl will draw out one of the pebbles. If she draws out the black pebble, she will become his wife and her father's debt will be cancelled. If she draws the white pebble, she will stay with her father and his debt will still be cancelled. But if she refuses to draw a pebble, her father will be thrown in jail.

When the merchant and his daughter reluctantly agree, the moneylender stoops down and picks up two pebbles from the pebbly path on which they are standing. The girl, sharp-eyed with fright, sees him pick up two black pebbles and put them in the bag, which he then holds out to her. What should she do?

If you were the girl, what would you do? How would you try to solve the problem? Vertical thinkers are concerned with the fact that the girl must take out a pebble; lateral thinkers become concerned with the pebble that will be left in the bag.

The girl in the story reaches into the bag and draws out a pebble without looking at it. She fumbles and drops it on the path exclaiming, "How clumsy of me! But you can tell which pebble I picked by the color of the one that's still in the bag."

An exactly parallel example is the three-card trick in which the cardsharp offers three cards face down and invites the player to pick out the queen. By sleight of hand maneuvering of the cards, the sharpie at first allows the player to win some money; then in the same way he makes it impossible for the player to find the queen. At this juncture, if the player could change his point of view, he would bet that the card he indicates is *not* the queen.

Another example concerns what you would do if you were in your car on a narrow road, confronted with a flock of sheep. The answer is to get out of the car, herd the sheep past the car, and then drive on. Many people would be stymied trying to get the car past the sheep rather than the sheep past the car.

Profound effects can come from a very simple change in the way one looks at something. One of the most effective discoveries of all time came about when Edward Jenner shifted his attention from why most people got smallpox to why dairymaids apparently did not. From the discovery that harmless cowpox gave protection against deadly smallpox came vaccination and the end of smallpox as a scourge in the western world.

In one of Sherlock Holmes's cases, Dr. Watson pointed out that a certain dog was of no importance to the case because it did not appear to have done anything. Holmes took the opposite point of view and maintained that the fact the dog had done nothing was of the utmost significance, for it should have been expected to do something. On this basis he solved the case.

A shift from the obvious way of looking at something to a less obvious way may require no more than a shift of emphasis. This isn't especially difficult to do once you get into the habit of trying — but first you have to be interested in trying.

Our minds divide the continuity of the world around us into discrete units, and familiarity dictates the choice of the parts into which we dissolve the whole. Once these units of convenience acquire names, they are frozen and immutable. The rigidity of words is associated with the rigidity of classifications, and the latter leads to rigidity in the way we look at various things.

Those who can escape from this rigidity tend to produce new ideas much more often than those who cannot. A World War II story tells of a pilot who was flying a bomber home and began having difficulty with the controls. He discovered a leakage in the hydraulic system, but there was no fluid available to fill it up. In the end the crew was saved because someone thought of using urine to refill the system: a simple and apparently effective solution, but most people would never have thought of it because urine and hydraulic fluid are so far apart in name and classification.

A similar example is that of an unlit lane which was so narrow that cars entering it had to back out again. Few cars had back-up lights and most had great difficulty getting out without colliding with something. One day someone thought of using his directional signals, which flashed brightly at the rear of the car and intermittently lit up the road. This worked very well. Presumably no one had thought of it before because directionals are named and classified as signals and not as back-up lights.

A useful technique for escaping from the fixed parts of a problem is to break the parts down into still smaller parts and then recombine these parts to form larger, novel units. With some effort and much practice, one can find many more ways of looking at a situation than just the most probable. If the situation presents a definite problem, the need for lateral thinking and new ideas is fairly easy to recognize; but in nonproblem situations, this need is harder to see. Any enterprise without problems has little chance of progress. Problems are the jolts that shift things out of the smooth rut of mere adequacy. This biggest problem may be that there is no apparent problem.

Toward the end of the last century, physicists were very pleased with themselves. Everything that needed explaining seemed to have been explained. Theories and measurements fitted neatly together. Tidying things up was all that remained to be done. Then along came Planck and Einstein, and it soon became obvious that physics had only just begun.

Einstein's creation of the theory of relativity is a perfect illustration of the fact that new ideas can come about without any new information at all. What Einstein did was to look at all the existing information that everyone else was content to fit into the Newtonian structure, and to put it together in a completely new way. The experiments confirming the theory came afterwards.

Too often we assume that no one has the right to doubt an explanation unless he can offer a better one. This is a most effective way of inhibiting new ideas. No way of looking at things is too sacred to be reconsidered. Though things may fit together and make sense, this does not preclude their being put together in a new way that makes even more sense. Every person has the right to doubt everything as often as he pleases, and the duty to do it at least once.

We underestimate the effect of the dominance of old and apparently adequate ideas. Like old and adequate cities, they come to polarize everything around them. All organization is based on them; all things are referred to them. Although we can make minor alterations on the outskirts, we find it impossible to change the whole structure radically and very difficult to shift the center of organization to a different place.

Sometimes the danger is not overawareness of an idea, but neglect of ways of looking at things that are blotted out by a dominant idea. The story of the jumping spider illustrates this in a macabre fashion. The schoolboy had an interesting theory: He maintained that spiders could hear with their legs and said that he could prove it.

He placed the spider in the middle of a table and said, "Jump!" The spider jumped. The boy repeated the demonstration. Then he cut off the spider's legs and put it back on the table. Again he said, "Jump!" But this time the spider remained quite still.

"See," said the boy, "you cut off a spider's legs, and he goes stone deaf."

Probably the best caricature of the vertical thinker who becomes dominated by an idea is provided by the man whose cat had a kitten. Tired of letting the original cat in and out, he had hit on the idea of cutting a hole in the door so the cat could come and go as it pleased without bothering him. As soon as the kitten arrived, the man at once cut a second, smaller hole in the door.

How does one escape from the influence of dominating ideas? A useful lateral thinking technique is to pick out quite deliberately, to define and even write down, the idea that seems to be dominating the situation. Once you have exposed an idea in this way, recognizing and therefore avoiding its polarizing influence becomes easier. But the exposure *must* be careful and deliberate.

Another technique is to acknowledge the dominant idea and then gradually distort it until in the end it loses its identity and collapses. The distortion may simply involve carrying the idea to extremes, or it may involve exaggerating only one feature. Again, the process must be very deliberate and self-conscious.

In tackling a problem, we commonly assume a set of limits within which the solution must lie. We define the boundaries of the problem by assumption, and then within those boundaries proceed to find a solution through vertical thinking. Very often, however, the boundaries are imaginary and the solution may lie outside them.

Take the apocryphal story of Columbus and the egg. When his friends taunted him, saying that discovering America was really easy since one had only to point west and keep going, he asked them to stand an egg on end. They tried but failed. Then Columbus took the egg, flattened one end, and stood the egg up. Naturally his friends protested that they had thought the egg could not be damaged. They had assumed limits for the egg problem that did not in fact exist. And they had also assumed it wouldn't be possible to point west and keep on sailing. This feat of navigation seemed easy only after Columbus had shown that their assumptions were imaginary.

The search for alternative ways of looking at things does not come naturally. The natural tendency of the mind is to become impressed by the most probable interpretation, and then to proceed from there. This tendency, though, can be overcome. One technique that seems deceptively simple is to predetermine the number of ways in which you will look at any situation. Deliberately make yourself look in several ways at each problem you encounter — say, three or five or more. No matter how absurd your forced interpretations may seem, make yourself fill the quota. In time and with practice, finding other ways of looking at a situation becomes less of an effort.

Another useful technique is to turn things upside down or inside out by consciously reversing some relationship. Reversal is easy wherever a direction is involved, for one direction implies an opposite direction.

A further technique is to shift emphasis deliberately from one part of a problem to another. Place each part in turn under the spotlight of attention and give even the most insignificant part of the problem its fair share.

Perhaps the clearest example of the benefit to be derived from looking at things in different ways is to be found in mathematics. Any equation whatsoever is nothing more than two different ways of describing something. Yet having two ways instead of one is so useful that it is one of the cornerstones of mathematics. Having the two different ways of looking at something on either side of the equal-sign makes it possible to manipulate the whole thing into an answer.

Thinking can be compared to walking over rocky terrain. One way is to move slowly and cautiously, balancing carefully on rock after rock. The other way is to move swiftly over the rocks, pausing so briefly on each that a precise balance at every step is no longer required. When you reach something interesting, you can always look back and pick out the surest way of getting there again. You may have to be at the top of a mountain to discover the best way up.

Vertical thinking has the great disadvantage of needing to be right each step of the way — that is the very essence of logic. And this need to be right at every stage is probably the biggest bar there is to new ideas. With lateral thinking, only the final conclusion need be correct.

The experts laughed at Marconi's idea that he could transmit a signal across the Atlantic. They assured him that since wireless waves traveled in straight lines, they would not follow the curvature of the earth but would stream off into space. Logically, the experts were correct. But Marconi tried, persisted, and succeeded in sending a signal across the Atlantic. Neither he nor the experts knew about the ionosphere, which bounced back the wireless waves that would otherwise have streamed off into space as predicted. Had Marconi been rigidly logical all along, he would have abandoned his idea.

We can point to many another example of an effective discovery that came at the end of a line of reasoning that was certainly not correct at every stage. The discovery of adrenalin, for instance, came about through a mistaken impression:

A certain Dr. Oliver had developed a gadget that he thought measured the diameter of the wrist artery through which we feel the pulse. He measured the diameter of this artery in his son under a variety of conditions, one of which involved the injection of an extract of calves' adrenal glands. He thought he detected that this injection decreased the artery's size. We now know that the effect of adrenalin on the diameter of a large artery would be undetectable, but Dr. Oliver rushed with his "discovery" to

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Edward Peter Sharpey-Schafer, a renowned physiologist and professor. The professor was disbelieving but, persuaded eventually by Dr. Oliver's enthusiasm, he injected some of the extract into a dog whose blood pressure was being measured. To his amazement, the dog's blood pressure rose in an extraordinary fashion; the effect of adrenalin had been discovered.

The highroad of vertical thinking leads straight toward what seems to be the solution to a problem, but the most effective solution may require that one proceed in exactly the opposite direction. If you separate domestic fowl from some food by a wire screen through which they can see the food, they will look straight at the food and try hard to get through the screen. A dog will realize that to get the food he must first of all go away from it and get around the wire screen.

Making this detour is easy when an obstacle obstructs the most obvious route toward a solution; it is less easy to choose to go in the opposite direction when there is no apparent obstacle. When the two women, each claiming to be the mother of an infant, were brought before King Solomon, he ordered that the baby be cut in half and half given to each woman. This order went in exactly the opposite direction to his chief concerns, which were presumably to see that justice was done and to save the baby. Yet the ultimate effect was to reveal the real mother, who would rather let the other woman have the baby than see it killed.

If you are stopped on a hill and the car in front of you starts to slip back toward you, the natural thing is to try to reverse (assuming there is a stream of traffic in the other lane). However, to do the opposite and drive up to the car in front may make more sense. This lessens the impact, and at this point the brakes of your car may be sufficient to hold the car that is slipping back.

We can make use of chance to generate new ideas. Most of us can remember among our own experiences a number of significant events that happened by chance. Chance events — that is, events that did not occur by design — have initiated valuable contributions to progress.

A tiny spark playing on a piece of apparatus across the room from the equipment Hertz was using caught his eye, and wireless waves were discovered. Roentgen forgot to remove a specially prepared fluorescent screen from a table on which he was playing with a cathode ray tube, and X rays were discovered.

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The role of chance in generating new ideas is to give us something to look at that we wouldn't have looked for. Probably the ideal way to encourage this process is through play. But the play must be purposeless, without design or direction. Playing around is an experiment with chance.

James Clerk Maxwell, one of the very greatest scientific and mathematical geniuses, was forever playing. In the midst of a dinner party, he would be lost to the other diners as he fiddled with the cutlery, a reflection from a glass, or a drop of water. Maxwell knew the value of play, for as a teen-ager he had started his scientific career by playing around with pins and threads after he had heard a lecture by Hay, an artist who obtained his effects in this way. With pins and thread Maxwell learned how to draw ellipses, and from this he went on to contribute a piece of original work on the drawing of oval curves when he was still so young that someone else had to read his paper to the Edinburgh Royal Society, since no one in short trousers was allowed to appear before the assembly.

The mind is a memory environment that allows information to organize itself into those patterns we know as concepts, ideas, and reactions. Though highly effective, the system has serious defects arising from the rigidity and persistence of the patterns formed. Its mechanism for updating patterns is extremely weak, and we are now becoming more and more aware of this deficiency. We have developed tools for rearranging concepts, but we need to develop tools for restructuring them. Lateral thinking is such a tool.

My use of scientific ideas to illustrate the way new ideas come about may have given the mistaken impression that lateral thinking is only for those engaged in research work. But this way of thinking can just as well be applied to other situations. The process is a basic one. The mother who put her child in a playpen to stop his pulling the Christmas tree to bits was using one sort of thinking; the husband who decided it made more sense to put the tree into the playpen, instead, was using another sort of thinking.

All of us can think back on isolated instances of lateral thinking that were quite useful at the time. To my mind, the charm of this kind of thinking is that it is an exciting search for the simplicity of a good idea and that it is open to everyone, for it does not depend on sheer intelligence.

The Magic of Symbols

Eli M. Bower

MAN'S social and individual competence as a human being rests squarely on his effectiveness as a processor and user of symbols. Knowledge is packaged in symbols created and organized by men. Where and why in the evolutionary scheme of things did man come to the device of symbolization as his primary tool and skill?

The picture we tend to slide into focus is that of some preaustralopithecus man, with his new and magnificent opposable thumb and his additional cerebral convolutions, holding up some object to his mate, pointing to it and babbling a sound related to the object's use, its smell, feel, shape, size, or green stamp redemption value. After the sound has been repeated a number of times (here we have the origin of the drill and grill method), it is then available for conversation and labeling. From such motivation and learning, it is suggested that language and speech evolved.

I'm more inclined, however, to see the picture as Susanne Langer does. In her picture, our preaustralopithecus man arises one morning puzzled, pained, and burdened. While asleep he has experienced a series of images that were connected in strange ways and seemed to tell a story or at least to mean something. Where did these images come from? Could he let someone else know what they were like? Lacking videotape equipment, our primitive man felt the need to communicate the experience to himself or others.

It seems likely, then, to suspect that man's need to express primary processes of thought as found in dreams is what got him into this symbolic world. Consequently, to paraphrase Prospero, symbols are such stuff as dreams and man are made on.

In normal sleep, man dreams about every 90 minutes. If he is repeatedly awakened prior to the onset of the dream, he will greatly increase his dreaming the following night. If he is deprived of the opportunity to dream over a period of time, he will begin to show marked changes in personality and behavior. Dreaming or nonrational thinking seems to be a basic metabolic and psychological need. The essence of education is to connect and integrate man's rational thinking processes with his dream thinking processes. Such connection can only be made via symbols which can charge and spark between the rational mind, the nonrational mind, and the external world.

It is probable that the act of communicating through written words or spoken sounds helps make the ideas or thoughts additionally real, since such acts are seen or heard by our own visual and auditory perceptual apparatus. Speech and writing then become economical and available energy outlets for the communication of thoughts. When babbling and scribbling became understandable activities of man, the Knowledge State was born.

Symbols are often talked or written about as representations of specific objects, events, or feelings, so that we are often led to conceptualize a symbol as interchangeable with whatever "it" is that is being substituted for.

One of the important notions inherent in man's use of symbols is that the symbol, x, does not *equal* anything in man's external world. As a symbol it contains *n* degrees of individual interpreting, organizing, experiencing, and meaning. Where such degrees of individual interpretation are relatively absent, it would be more accurate to call x a sign.

Stop!, whether expressed by a red traffic light or by a policeman's raised hand, is interpreted much the same way in our culture. Unlike signs, however, symbols are loaded with individual meanings. Obviously, a child who has "heard" his mother say, for the one-hundredth time, to *stop* what he is doing, is not reacting to the sign function of the term. *Stop* in this instance contains within its symbolic structure the child's knowledge about the parent, his past experience with the word in this situation, and a knowledge of the consequences of his interpretation.

A human responds to both signals and symbols, but he thinks mainly with his symbols. The differences between signal-using and symbol-using animals are not differences in degree. As Thorndike said so succinctly, "An animal can think things, but it cannot think about things." Symbols conceptualize and define externality. Each man defines what is out there with his own symbols. This notion was aptly summarized by Bill Klem, an experienced baseball umpire, who happened to be calling balls and strikes behind the plate with a catcher who liked to anticipate Klem's calls. The catcher turned to Klem after a particularly close pitch and said, "Strike?"

"Young man," said Klem, "it ain't nothing till I calls it!"

What is reality in baseball is no less reality in life; human life is invented and created by the symbolic matrices in which it is defined. Without man's ability to use symbols, events could not be transformed into experiences; feelings could not be undergone; and objects could not be bound into memory. Life would be a misty, diffused, jumbled conglomeration of objects, feelings, and events.

Meanings are conceptual processes woven out of symbolic cloth. To be without such symbolic equipment is to be bound by "invisible hands," as Helen Keller expressed it. "The few signs I used," she wrote, "became less and less adequate, and my failures to make myself understood were invariably followed by outbursts of passion."

Those who saw *The Miracle Worker*, Gibson's dramatization of Annie Sullivan's attempt to teach the meaning of language to Helen Keller, will remember the passionate moment when Helen learned to use symbols. The drama of the transition of Helen the "animal" to Helen the human being wrung cheers and tears from the audience. Helen in her own words recalled it this way:

> As the cool stream gushed over one hand, she [Miss Sullivan] spelled into the other the word water, first slowly, then rapidly. I stood still, my whole attention fixed upon the motion of her fingers. Suddenly I felt a misty consciousness as if something forgotten — a thrill of returning thought; and somehow the mystery of language was revealed to me. That living word awakened my soul, gave it light, hope, joy, set it free. . . . Thus I came out of Egypt and stood before Sinai and a power divine touched my spirit and gave it sight so that I beheld many wonders.

Symbols are man's greatest invention, and mathematics is his symbolic Hercules. Whereas words need to be tied to real things and experiences, the strength and power of mathematics lies precisely in its avoidance of denoting anything real or tangible. Mathematics is a universal symbol system precisely because individual interpretation has been taken out of its grasp. It is bland but accurate.

I recall vividly one of my high school mathematics teachers spending significant time blocks trying to convince us of the practical utility of higher algebra, analytic geometry, and trigonometry. In my case, he succeeded in convincing me it wasn't worth it just to measure the height of a tree or the span of a river.

The exciting notion which we both missed was that what he was teaching and I was attempting to learn had no direct relationship at all to the external world. It was a system of symbols and a conceptual extension of man not specifically related to any objects, events, or feelings.

The overwhelming problem for man in the use of symbols is to differentiate between a system such as language, which conceptualizes objects, events, and feelings, and a system such as mathematics, which has meaning within its own assumptions and relationships.

The knowledge state requires its citizens to learn to use symbols in a variety of ways and for a variety of purposes. Both as a listener and communicator, we need to learn to use symbols creatively and imaginatively in thinking, writing, music, art, and human relationships; and we need to learn how to use and enjoy symbols as objects for play and fun.

In a world where life is spun out in greater and greater amounts of symbols with increasing levels of abstractions, communication with self and others may become highly diffused or distorted. Often we find it easier or more satisfying to substitute the symbol for its reality without knowing either one well. We are like the proud parent who while wheeling her newborn baby in the park was stopped by an admiring friend. "My, what a pretty baby," said the friend. "That's nothing," said the mother, "you should see his picture."

Indeed, at times we seem to have shifted the responsibility for defining the real world from our senses and our sense to the written word. Events and words are too readily interchangeable; the printed or spoken word has in many ways become the world to which we respond.

The sum and substance of a child's experience in school must, in large part, result in his ability to process and use symbols. The construction and differentiation of his world, of self and others, rests on the child's experiences with symbols and the events or actions in which the symbol was learned.

Objects or events cannot be raised to the domain of the mind without the ability to conceptualize the object or event symbolically. The insidious outcome of this process for man is that meaning comes to reside not in things and events but primarily in the symbol concept.

This peculiarity of symbols highlights their elusiveness, especially in instances where men attempt to communicate significant but highly abstract ideas. What, for example, can the words "democracy," "freedom," "equality," "hope," "future," or "love" mean to one whose knowledge of the concept has been limited to explanations via other symbols? Or what common meaning would a word such as "hope" have to a well-educated, white American male; a poorly educated Negro boy of 16; a young child; a resident of a prison; a blind person; or a psychotic individual?

The great paradox, as Moffett points out, is that "we cannot free data from the symbols into which they have been abstracted, the message from the code. . . . Every code or language says something about itself while delivering its message."

The clinical behavioral scientists, such as psychiatrists, clinical social workers, and clinical psychologists, are primarily involved in helping individuals to unlearn or unmediate symbols that have somehow become rigidified or distorted by past behavior. Educators are involved in helping individuals learn and mediate new symbolic lore and equipment to become more effective interactors with their environment.

An effective relationship to others and to the external world could not exist without symbols that have been learned in a consensually validated way. Probably the most significant factor in the differentiation and validation of our symbolic learning is the process of symbolizing self. Knowing oneself depends on the correctness and accuracy of one's symbols and their flexibility to change.

The self must somehow be conceptualized in a firm but malleable manner. Most of us are continually shifting (if we can) our symbols of self to accommodate changing realities. We conceptualize ourselves differently in church, at a party, on the job, or at home. A study by Block suggests that in general a well-functioning individual is able to hold on to a core self in all transactions but that he has about 50 percent flexibility to vary his *persona* as situations and conditions change.

As I see it, the major task then of our schools of the seventies and eighties and beyond is to help children learn to use symbols as differentiators and validators of externality but with a sufficient degree of freedom and conceptual flexibility to develop new or different meanings. The teacher needs to think of language development as having two apparently diametrically opposite but similar purposes: to encode correctly the common symbols of our society but to avoid doing so in a binary, absolutistic manner which makes symbols black or white, good or bad, all or none, me or you, they or we.

Stereotyped thinking emerges out of rigid conceptualizations of objects and events. Alfred Hitchcock illustrated this in the story about a wife who kills her husband by braining him with a frozen leg of lamb. She then pops the lamb into a hot oven and serves it to the police officers who have been searching vainly for the murder weapon. Within the several possible realities of "leg of lamb," these officers find none which suggest that the evidence is being destroyed by their own digestive systems.

In addition to the need to learn to use symbols in order to communicate with ourselves and others, and to be free to take on new conceptual models of knowledge, the child needs to learn how to use symbols to create realities of his own. Symbols are tools that allow men to move in time and space with relative freedom. With symbols, a man can conjure up the future, re-experience the past, and play with the structure and function of the external world as he wishes. Teaching the skills of using symbols as conceptualizers of events, actions, and ideas beyond what can be seen, heard, touched, tasted, or felt is education's unique contribution in helping children to become effective human beings.

Research on children's skills in conceptualizing time confirms the difficulty of symbolizing something in which one's experience has been limited. If children between 8 and 10 are asked to invent stories, those created by middle-class children cover greater periods of time than do those of lower-class children.

As Fraisse points out, for children, the conceptual and action reality of time was approximately the perceived distance between the awakening of a desire and its gratification. However, when children are pervasively involved in an activity, they are more surprised than adults by the rapid passage of time.

What counts in the conceptualization of time by children appears to be the nature of the task and its mediation. The conceptualizations of time and space seem to grow out of and are enhanced by the enjoyment of symbol skills, such as reading and speaking. Indeed, clinical observation and descriptive evaluation of delinquent and nondelinquent children of the same socioeconomic status point to the enjoyment of reading as a significant differentiating characteristic.

Delinquent and nondelinquent children in the same neighborhood face much the same difficult and unpleasant environment. A delinquent, however, is tied to his environment with concrete and labeling kinds of symbols, which do not provide a "release from immediacy."

One is struck by an occasional but notable example in which severe deprivation, either sensory or environmental, is overcome by what appears to be the singular skill of reading. Claude Brown's narration in *Manchild in the Promised Land* of his growth and development in the wild, hopeless, and dehumanizing slums of Harlem is a case in point.

As an energetic, unsocialized, and uneducated adolescent, Brown spent a revolving-door existence between Harlem and various rehabilitation and treatment institutions. The wife of the superintendent of Warwick, one of these institutions, got him interested in reading. He read the autobiography of Mary McLeod Bethune followed by books on Jackie Robinson, Sugar Ray Robinson, Einstein, and Schweitzer.

"After reading about a lot of these people, I started getting ideas about life. . . . This Einstein was a cat who really seemed to know how to live. . . . He seemed to be living all by himself; he's found a way to do what he wanted to in life and just made everybody accept it. . . . Then I read a book by Albert Schweitzer. . . . The man knew so much. I really started wanting to know things. I wanted to know things and I wanted to do things. . . .

"I kept reading and I kept enjoying it. I used to just sit around in the cottage reading. I didn't bother with people and nobody bothered me. *This was a way to be in Warwick and not to be there at the same time.*" [Italics by Dr. Bower.]

And so Brown found a way out of the constrictive immediacy of his life, new action and ideational resources, and an enjoyable skill to enlarge his time and space concepts.

Once we have learned to use symbols as binders of ideas, as openers of new knowledge, and as vehicles for imaginative thought, we must learn the arbitrariness and weightlessness of our symbolically constructed world.

We must be free to play with words in order to learn their true nature. To be able to appreciate and generate humor with words enables children to begin differentiating between an object and its symbol and between rational and nonrational thinking.

"Participation in play and humor provides opportunity for practice with this balancing skill," says William Fry. "Becoming skilled in playing or joking (or riddle-telling or slapstick) provides us with a degree of skill in maintaining equilibrium of the two antithetical states — spontaneity and thoughtfulness. When the balance is stable, the spontaneity of the ongoing process of life is not paralyzed by the detachment of thoughtfulness or self-watchfulness or is not lost in a hysteria of spontaneity."

The pun, as Koestler points out, is the untying of an acoustic knot containing two strings of thought. He goes on to illustrate the strong ties between sound and meaning shown in the universal practices of word magic, spells and incantations:

"Next to repetition, association by sound affinity — punning — is one of the notorious games of the underground, manifested in dreams, in the punning mania of children, and in mental disorders. The rhyme is nothing but a glorified pun — two strings of ideas tied in an acoustic knot. . . . Thus rhythm and assonance pun and rhyme are not artificially created ornaments of speech; the whole evidence indicates that their origins go back to primitive — and infantile — forms of thought."

We have but to glance through *101 Elephant Jokes* to recognize the fun children can have playing with words and relieving themselves of the heavy bindings on these cultural vehicles. "How do you stop a herd of elephants from charging?" "By taking away their credit cards," is a form of word play that allows "charging" to change context and meaning abruptly, spontaneously, and pleasurably.

In the same way a pun can raise to a child's level of awareness the capricious nature of meaning and help him understand the arbitrary nature of symbols. If a symbol can be played with, it can be many things.

The essence of education's mystique for man lies in his ability to use symbols, such as words, numbers, sound symbols (like musical notes), and various art forms. As has been mentioned before, all learning and experiencing are packaged and shipped back and forth in the minds of men as symbols.

The vigor and force of man's symbolic skills enable him to perceive himself, to lift himself out of his physical world; to manage Father Time; to bind events, objects, and feelings (that is, to learn); and to create ideas, worlds, and values of his own making.

It is becoming clear, however, that man has been so seduced by his symbolic skills that his goals have been displaced and short-circuited. Symbols can be vehicles for increasing the freedom of human behavior, but the process by which such symbols are learned significantly affects their utility. For example, symbols have a way of being transmitted to children without being rooted in sensory or cerebral experiences; high level abstractions are piled on higher level abstractions until Cloud Nine begins to look like solid earth.

Symbols are learned or processed by man so rigidly and bound so tightly that new knowledge and new concepts have difficulty entering the self. Learning, in other words, can and often does curtail rather than enhance human growth. Symbols, like people, need a firm base and a degree of freedom to grow and change.

Some Unanticipated Consequences of Testing

Fred P. Barnes

BEGINNING with the standardized tests of the 1920's, ability testing in American schools has become alternately a boon and a bane for educational administrators. For example, ability grouping of students reached its peak during 1920 to 1930, fell into disfavor in elementary schools during 1938 to 1948, and then in the 1950's was reawakened — a possible by-product of Sputnik jitters and of the professional critics of public education.

During the past decade, a tremendous spurt of testing in the schools, in the business community, in the government, and in the military has taken on prodigious proportions which threaten to become dominant influences in the educational, personal, and social lives of a majority of our people. According to reliable estimates of the number of standardized tests given in the United States, it is safe to say that there are more ability tests being given each year than there are people to take them, even if each of our 200,000,000 children and adults consumed one test annually.[1]

At present, very little is known about what effects the testing movement is having on our society and on the individuals who are directly affected by the test results.

Of course, the growing concern for education in America has added much momentum to our production and use of standardized tests as an attempt to utilize a technology of education in the assignments, rewards, and punishments of students, their parents, and the cultural milieu that produced the students. To some extent, these tests are produced by specialists in psychology, sociology, and other behavioral sciences for their own use, but mainly they are for use by generalists such as teachers, administrators, and supervisors on the management side of educational decisions. In other words, the use to which test results are put tends to be more administrative in nature than instructional in purpose. The specialist in psychology may produce an intelligence test and an achievement test to be administered to a large population of students. All students who cannot read are bound to flunk both tests. All students who mark both tests at random are apt to get at least a "chance" score. All superior readers are likely to do the best on both tests. And the so-called disadvantaged students might be expected to achieve generally miserable scores on both tests. The specialist in sociology is given to the study of societies and their general tendencies, which results in expectations for individuals. In knowing something about a society, we also know to a lesser degree what to expect from its members.

The degree of congruence between these two sets of specialist expectations gives rise, for those who are sufficiently prejudiced, to a number of self-fulfilling prophecies that may be therapeutic for the tester but are frequently toxic for the testee. Surprisingly enough, variables other than IQ, achievement, or social tendencies may decide how much and which of a child's potentials will be realized.[2]

In addition to what they purport to test, many of the routine tests that are commonly used have unsuspected side effects. The fact is suspected that IQ tests sort out children in terms of daddy's income, and play a part in distinguishing between the children of affluence and the children of poverty. IQ tests and achievement tests seem to test the same thing. High correlations between these ability tests should offer slight surprise, and sometimes the tests are even seen as self-supporting. But the medium of testing in American schools, and in many other aspects of our society, has generated cause over the past five years or so to examine directly the full consequences of the testing that we do.

Prominent among the studies directed toward the impact of testing are: 1) the series of reports on the social consequences of ability testing conducted and published by the Russell Sage Foundation, 2) a book written by Herbert A. Thelen, and based on his U.S. Office of Education Cooperative Research Project of 1958-1960 on "teachable groups," and 3) a series of occasional papers written and distributed through *Evaluation Comment*, a publication of the Center for the Study of Evaluation of Instructional Programs, University of California, Los Angeles.

David A. Goslin, sociologist on the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation, has been the anchor man for several reports on ability testing. The initial volume, entitled *The Search for Ability*,[3] historically surveyed ability testing in American society, beginning with Terman's 1916 individualized Stanford-Binet standardized test of intelligence. This test introduced IQ as a way of expressing test results. But the observation is made that the bulk of standardized testing in the United States today — in schools, in the civil service, in the military, and in industry — is group testing of the paper-and-pencil variety. Until recently, standardized ability testing has been a uniquely American phenomenon. In 1961, Oscar Buros compiled a bibliography of 2,126 tests in print, but the total number of available tests is not known.

The testing business is huge and growing. However, Goslin finds that the impact of testing is such that it tends to change the social structure of our culture and subcultures like the classroom. The most evident of these innovations is the separation of children into classes on the basis of testing intelligence, reading skill, or some other ability. Despite the acceptance of homogeneous groupings, findings on its effects tend to be inconclusive, insignificant, and more negative than positive.

Ability grouping alters the social structure of the school. Subcultural differences can be expected to increase and a higher degree of social class crystallization may be anticipated. Most tests test not only the individual; they also test his intellectual environment and those who are responsible for it. These impacts are especially confounding in a society wrestling with problems of racial isolation. One conceivable consequence of relying on tested ability as a criterion for assigning educational or occupational status is a more rigid class structure in academic and everyday society.

The initial volume by Goslin was impressionistic and of a survey design. Several succeeding technical reports followed it and another book, based on scientific sampling methods, was published under the title, *Teachers and Testing*.[4] Material contained in this book is quite specific and introduces some interesting inconsistencies concerning the practices of testing in the schools. Several findings from this study are both newly informative and just about what most practicing educational administrators would predict. Some findings, not listed in any order, are these: The frequency of test giving in kindergarten through grade six is greater than at the secondary school level. This frequency is positively related to the average income level of families of children in the school. Extensive testing is both an urban and a middle-class phenomenon. Many schools may not have any clear-cut policy concerning the use of test scores. In elementary schools, the diagnosis of individual difficulties and homogeneous grouping were found to represent the most "important" uses of test scores. Familiarity of teachers with tests appears to be a function of formal training in measurement; experience in test giving, on the other hand, appears to be a result of many years' teaching experience and the sheer extent of test giving in the school. Probably in spite of teacher knowledge concerning IQ and achievement test scores, teacher expectations concerning pupils' performance may influence actual student behavior in a supraliminal fashion. Teacher expectations change behavior more in the lower grades than in later grades. A belief that ability tests measure inborn (genetic) capabilities, which are therefore unchangeable, makes substantial differences in the way test scores are interpreted.

In this study, students at all grade levels placed less belief in intelligence tests measuring inborn rather than learned abilities than did teachers or counselors. Of particular interest was a sharp finding that as a teacher's or guidance counselor's sophistication in the use of tests increases, his opinions are likely to shift in the direction of greater emphasis on innate abilities. Thus, one outcome of increased training or experience in testing may be an accentuation of the labeling (often irreversible) of young children. Labeling frequently tends to be sticky, following the child throughout his school years and into adult life.

The Russell Sage Foundation's longitudinal project on the social consequences of ability testing has opened numerous questions that have been perplexing to administrators and teachers for years. Now that Goslin and his staff have mapped the territory with survey research studies, they may be ready to advance toward more precise knowledge through experimental research models.

An occasional paper written for the Center for the Study of Evaluation of Instructional Programs at the University of California, Los Angeles, by Benjamin S. Bloom of the University of Chicago presents an interesting proposal to go beyond standardized testing in the schools with what he calls "learning for mastery."[5] Bloom presents a characterization of the ordinary "normed" expectation for success, or lack of success, in student learning. He then deals with the question of what factors would be involved if we were to expect 90+ percent of our students to learn the content of our courses up to the point of mastery.

Ordinarily, each teacher begins a new term with the expectation that about a third of his students will adequately learn what he has to teach, another third of his students will fail or just "get by," and another third will learn something, though not enough to be regarded as "good students." This set of expectations is supported by school practices and policies in grading, and is transmitted to the students through the grading procedures and through the methods and materials of instruction. The system creates a self-fulfilling prophecy, and the final sorting of students becomes approximately equivalent to the original expectations.

This set of expectations, which fixes the goals of teachers and students, is the most wasteful and destructive aspect of the present educational system. It reduces the aspirations of both teachers and students; it reduces motivation for learning in students; and it systematically destroys the ego and self-concept of a sizable group of students who are legally required to attend school for 10 to 12 years under conditions which are frustrating and humiliating year after year.

Most students (perhaps over 90 percent) can master what we have to teach them, and it is the task of instruction to find the means which will insure this mastery. If the schools are to provide successful learning experiences for at least 90 percent of the students, major changes must take place in the attitudes of students, teachers, and administrators. Changes must also take place in teaching strategies and in the role of evaluation.

We have so long used the normal curve in testing and in placing and grading students that we have come to believe in it. We have become accustomed to classifying students into about five categories of level of performance and to assigning grades in some relative fashion. Of most importance, we find ways of convincing students that they can only do C work or D work by our grading system and our testing.

There is nothing sacred about the normal curve. It is the distribution most appropriate to chance and random activity. Education is purposeful and deliberately intended to be directed by nonchance activities. If our instruction is effective, the distribution of achievement should be very different from the normal curve. In fact, if the results of our educational efforts approximate the normal curve distribution, we may decide that we have been quite unsuccessful. Even if some initial distribution of scores, related to some pertinent variable, were to suggest that a group of students (sample) was drawn from a normally distributed "chance" population, it is the job of task-oriented instruction to change the sample values in such a way that the distribution of post-instruction scores would not (and could not) simply leave the students as a sample drawn from the original population.

There are, of course, individual differences that are concerned with aptitude distributions for particular subjects and learnings. But the differences in aptitudes tend to be differences between students at the extreme and those that make up the rest of the student population (1 to 5 percent at the top of the aptitude distribution, and probably less than 5 percent at the bottom with special disabilities for particular learnings). In between the top and bottom are approximately 90 percent of the individuals; for this 90 percent, aptitudes are predictive of rate of learning rather than the level of learning that is possible. Thus, given sufficient time and appropriate instructional help, 95 percent of the students (the top 5 percent and the next 90 percent) can learn a subject up to a high level of mastery.

Bloom's research projects recognize five variables for mastery learning strategies that are influential in deriving a model of school learning. These five major variables have been identified as:

1. Aptitude for Particular Kinds of Learning (for the same task)
2. Quality of Instruction (different types of instruction)
3. Ability to Understand Instruction (the nature of the task)
4. Perseverance (time a student is willing to spend, plus feedback)
5. Time Allowed for Learning (each student allowed the time he needs).

The teaching-learning process and the evaluation process are separate processes. It is conceivable for all students in a particular class to achieve mastery and the grade of A. It is also possible in a particular year in a specific course for few or none of the students to attain mastery or a grade of A.

During the past century, we have been directed by the expectation that mastery of a subject is possible for only a minority of students. This is the result of the way in which we have "rigged" the educational system. With this assumption, we have persisted in certifying that only a small percent of students is awarded the grade of A. Even when some successive group learns the subject in a superior way, we still award the grade of A to only the top 10 or 15 percent of the students. Mastery must be both a subjective recognition by the student of his competence (diagnostic-progress tests) and a public recognition by the school or society (achievement examinations). The student must come to recognize that he "knows" and can do what the subject requires. He may be informed by the grading system, as well as by the discovery that he can adequately cope with the variety of tasks and problems in the evaluation instruments.

Perhaps the clearest evidence of effective change is the interest the student develops for the subject he has mastered. To do well in a subject opens up further avenues for exploration.

Conversely, to do poorly in a subject closes the area for further study. If the schools do not promote adequate learning and reassurance of progress, the student will come to reject learning, both in the school and in later life. Mastery learning can give zest to school learning and can develop a lifelong interest in learning — a major goal for education, both formal and informal.

After all, learning represents the chief product of the school business. As recent studies on testing and teaching seem to indicate, many of our customs and biases unnecessarily militate against the successful production of what we say we want schooling to achieve. As educators, might it be possible for us unthinkingly to test ourselves fairly well out of business?

FOOTNOTES

1. Goslin, David A. *The Search for Ability*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963. p. 54.

2. Thelen, Herbert A. *Classroom Grouping for Teachability*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967. p. 49.

3. See footnote 1. Chapters II, VIII.

4. Goslin, David A. *Teachers and Testing*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1967.

5. Bloom, Benjamin S. "Learning for Mastery." *Evaluation Comment*, May 1968. Center for the Study of Evaluation of Instructional Programs, University of California at Los Angeles.

The Child's World of Marks

Mary Alice White and Ann E. Boehm

C IS passing, just. Not very good. You could try much harder. D is for dumb. You could try much, much harder. Not passing, I don't think. F is for flunk. Failure, Flunk, Flunk, and all that junk.

This is how a typical third grade pupil explained how he could tell whether he had done well or badly in school. Through the use of teaching exchanges, in which two pupils from one grade teach an area of school learning to two pupils from another grade, we have heard repeatedly how very concerned young pupils are about their marks. Yet many of these pupils are often confused as to what these marks mean. Teachers' remarks and actions are additional sources of information to help them understand where they stand. Perhaps some excerpts from the exchanges themselves would better illustrate the child's world of marks. These pupils were explaining how they could tell how well or badly they were doing:

> *Second Grade:* "She hands the papers back. Sometimes you have to do them over; sometimes you get a plus mark, sometimes a check mark. Plus means bad, check means good. If you're bad, you have to go to the back of the room, or stand in back of your seat."
>
> *Fourth and Fifth Grade:* "By your report card. When you hand in a paper. It has 'messy' or you get a good mark. Or she says 'good boy' or 'that's good' to the whole class. About how many things do you do a day?"
>
> "First, current events. You get a plus. If you get three plusses you get an A, but if you can only get two, you have to get plus in something else. You get arithmetic every day. Then if it's Monday you get recess sometimes. If you forget your paper, you get an F . . ."
>
> *Third and Fourth Grade:* "Usually Mrs. F. calls out the grade. Earlier this year we had a bulletin board with papers that we didn't get back. Sometimes we call out the grades we got so she can put them in her grade book."

> "Usually the teacher will call your name. 'Jimmy got 100.' The other one's she doesn't say. Sometimes she passes them out and says, 'those who got 100 raise your hand,' 'one wrong raise your hand.'
>
> "Sometimes she tells us some of us are going to be getting pretty good report cards. She says so and so is going to pass but if someone is going to pass, it will be by the skin of his teeth."

In a previous article ["Pupils' Perceptions of School Marks," *Elementary School Journal,* February 1967] we have discussed the varied and often inconsistent systems by which children are evaluated. For example, we have heard pupils explain C stood for these things: "all right," "correct," "good," "medium good," "5 wrong," and "just passing." Check marks, symbols such as S and U, grades, percents, or number right and wrong have all been reported in use by pupils within the same school systems. As one third grade boy explained, "If you get 10 or more wrong, that's bad. You stay after. If two wrong, you're pretty good. More than four or six is pretty bad. Or she says, 'Bad reading, Michael,' or 'Pretty good, Michael.' If she doesn't say something, you're just average."

We have concern for pupils who fall into this third grader's "just average" category. Is it possible that these pupils receive inadequate teacher feedback and therefore have inadequate information as to where they stand?

According to the pupils, teachers publicly recognize those who receive 100's or 90's by asking them to raise their hands. Papers marked 100 are placed on the bulletin board, so we have heard, or children attaining three 100's in a row receive a candy bar. Conversely, pupils have mentioned that teachers say who is going to flunk, or get a bad report card, or have to take a note home to be signed. But we have heard very little about those teacher remarks or actions which would apply to the pupils who fall in between these two extremes.

Since the majority of pupils are average by definition at least, it would seem important that this middle group be as adequately informed about their performance as the extreme groups. How often do pupils interpret a lack of teacher feedback to mean that they have done either poorly or well? Some pupils may question why they should continue to try, if neither increased nor continued effort produces an appropriate teacher reaction.

This same middle group also appears to be most confused by the varied systems of marking used in daily assignments. The A's and the F's or the "Excellents" and the "Poors" communicate fairly clearly. But the pupil who receives "five wrong," which could represent either a good or poor performance, may be in a difficult position to assess where he stands.

As these excerpts might suggest, our impression is that pupils attempt to translate teachers' evaluation systems into systems they can understand, those that will help them to determine their classroom status.

Many teachers have told us that elementary pupils do not care about marks, or if they do, that this is due to parental pressure. Some teachers have also expressed the notion that attention to marks will induce competition. They imply that this is a harmful thing to do at the elementary level.

Based on what we have heard pupils say to each other, we question the validity of this point of view. We cannot claim to know the source of the pupils' interest in marks, but we would argue that it does exist. Systems of marking might better recognize its existence, rather than pretending either that it does not exist or should not.

There is a second reason why marking systems need to communicate clearly. One of the responsibilities which teachers have, even in the primary grades, is to evaluate the performance of their pupils. So far we have not found any good substitute for evaluation. Until we do, we might better acknowledge the fact that it is one of the teachers' responsibilities. Since pupils are evaluated by their teachers, who, in turn, make important decisions about their future educational course, then it seems rational — even just — that the pupils understand the system by which they are evaluated.

We would suggest, therefore, that marking systems need to be clear, consistent, and explicit. Teacher feedback also needs to be frequent and to communicate the relevant information as to the pupil's status and, specifically, how he can improve that status. It is quite possible that if the evaluation system were clearer and if more adequate feedback were used, pupils would be in a much better position to improve their performance, a goal which both teachers and pupils share.

MENTAL HEALTH AND PERSONALITY

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How To Enhance Pupil Self-Esteem

Stanley Coopersmith
and Jan Silverman

Sun and moon and beat of sea —
Great lands stretching endlessly.
Where be bonds to bind the free?
All the world was made for me!
Adelaide Crapsey

And how am I to face the odds
Of man's bedevilment and God's?
I, a stranger and afraid
In a world I never made.
Alfred Edward Housman

Two views of the world. The first explodes with enthusiasm — the second shudders in despair. One view sees man as lord of earth, the other as an alien on a friendless planet.

The way a man views his world affects his capacity for happiness and his ability to contribute effectively to society. And the way a man sees himself greatly determines how he sees his world.

For centuries, the great thinkers of every age have recognized the importance of self-esteem in influencing human behavior. In modern times, such philosophers and psychologists as William James and Alfred Adler have written on the subject. Now, social scientists are engaging in research to learn the real relationship between man's view of himself and his behavior.

Over the past several years, a group of social scientists led by Stanley Coopersmith have been concerned with this question — specifically the factors that contribute to the development of high self-esteem.

After an intensive study of 1,748 normal, middle-class boys and their families, . . . Coopersmith and his associates found that parental attitude was the key factor in the development of high self-esteem. The boys with self-confidence and an optimistic outlook on life came from families in which the parents (a) took *a genuine interest in their children — their activities, friends, and interests; (b) set high standards of behavior and were strict and consistent in the enforcement of rules, but used rewards rather than corporal punishment as a disciplinary technique; and (c) allowed their children to have a voice in making family plans and were open to their children's suggestions.*

The findings of this study have important implications for therapists and parents — and for educators as well. . . .

SELF-ESTEEM is a better predictor of a child's future success in school than intelligence. Every teacher has encountered a child who, though he has scored well on intelligence and reading-readiness tests in kindergarten, still cannot read by the time he gets to the second grade.

Why can't he? One important reason may be that such a child lacks self-esteem. He has somewhere — at home or at school — acquired the impression that he isn't a good student and that he's not likely to become one. He cannot visualize himself attaining success in school, so his attitude is self-defeating. He says to himself in effect, Why should I spend all the time and effort it takes to learn to read when I'm going to fail anyway?

A child who is unable to achieve some measure of self-esteem by academic or other constructive methods will often turn to negative behavior. He may find it easiest to withdraw into daydreaming, or he may turn to misbehavior in the classroom; for any person, whether child or adult, will use whatever means are available to him to maintain or enhance his self-image.

Just as we cannot expect a starving child to perform calisthenics, we cannot expect a child lacking in self-esteem to strive for academic competence. He must first have the conviction that it is possible for him to succeed and that his efforts will be rewarded with some degree of success.

To enable a child like this to achieve success in school, the teacher must help him change his concept of himself, for until he can visualize himself succeeding, all the teaching efforts in the world will be in vain.

What can educators do to enhance the self-esteem of students? To make it possible for the "unteachables" to learn?

First, we must examine our own values. How do we feel about ourselves — and our role as educators? Do we genuinely like and respect children? Are we interested in increasing the competence and in identifying the individual skills of each child?

If not, do we really belong in education? Perhaps the answer is No.

A teacher must try to know himself and accept himself as he is, not as an idealized stereotype of a teacher. Teachers are human beings, not saints, and they should not hold themselves to unrealistic standards. At the same time, they must respect themselves — recognize their own worth.

A teacher who lacks some measure of self-esteem — who doesn't like himself — shouldn't be with children. He could do immense harm in the classroom, harm that might take years to remedy, if, indeed, it could be remedied.

Such a teacher can be a destructive influence on his students by setting standards that are too high, subjecting a child to ridicule or sarcasm, or branding a child a failure for making a mistake. He might overprotect, dominate, neglect, or extravagantly flatter a student. Behavior such as this is extremely harmful to a child.

But a teacher can enhance a child's self-esteem by being interested in him and concerned about him as an individual. This means providing a warm, supportive climate in the classroom by genuinely accepting children — emphasizing every success, letting a child who has been absent know that he was missed, and including each child equally, if possible, in classroom activities.

The teacher must communicate that he genuinely cares about each pupil as an individual. But children can detect insincere affection or praise. Such action will repel them and create a feeling of distrust that will make them feel they are incapable of inspiring genuine affection or praise.

Teachers should also set up realistic class standards that are clear and definite. These must be established at the beginning of the school year and explained to all the children with the assurance that they will not be changed in midstream.

While these standards limit a child's freedom, they also give him the freedom to act within reasonable limits. His actions should be curbed because of principle, not curbed because of expediency or because of personality.

A child has the right to ask questions regarding these rules. Discussions or even disagreements about them (provided the teacher has established the principles and defined the powers, privileges, and responsibilities of the members of the class) help students to develop self-esteem. The pupil realizes that he can safely express an opinion or explore an idea with an adult, that he has a voice and a vote in classroom matters.

Regulations and expectations should also indicate goals toward which the individual student can aspire. He will thus be competing with himself, not with other children.

In setting up classroom standards, the marking system is critical — especially in the lower grades where the child is striving to develop his self-esteem. Teachers must realize that mistakes are a part of the learning process. A child should be allowed to make mistakes; indeed, he should be encouraged to explore and to investigate before he finally succeeds — with the full understanding that errors and setbacks are inherent in human strivings.

Grading all papers is a questionable practice, especially in the first few grades. Stars are wonderful for the child who earns them, but they can be destructive to those who don't. It is equally destructive to give a good grade when it is not deserved; this constitutes lying to the child, and he will eventually recognize the good grade for what it is — charity rather than an earned reward.

The teacher must achieve the delicate balance between praising and correcting a student. In a sense, the teacher must support him with one hand and criticize him with the other. When a student does poorly, the teacher must say, "That was not a good job, but I still believe in you, and I'm going to help you do better next time."

Criticism must offer constructive alternatives. It must focus on what is wrong and how to improve it without being personal. "F" must never stand for failure as a person, nor should it indicate finality. There must always be encouragement to try the next time with the grade serving as a guidepost rather than as a closed door to the future.

The teacher must also challenge a child in order to help him gain self-confidence. Children vary greatly, but each child should be challenged so that he achieves success by "stretching" his abilities. If success comes too easily, its importance is diminished. A child should be pushed to work hard, to achieve, to take pride in the fact that success came because of his personal effort. Thus he becomes aware of his own powers.

If the school is overprotective, and each child — especially the capable student — is not challenged, he will not know the limits of his own ability. Furthermore, he will not know whether his teacher thinks that he is able to achieve, whether his teacher realizes his true powers and capabilities.

It is a difficult job for the teacher to keep the challenge within each child's stretching ability, for he must assess each case to be sure that he is not presenting a task that is foredoomed to failure. Yet with each challenge the child is able to conquer, his willingness to attempt another will be heightened, and — most important of all — his self-confidence will grow.

The task of helping to build a child's self-esteem is not easy — for the teacher or the student. But it is one that must be undertaken for it is crucial to the healthy development of every child.

Family Life and Sex Education in the Elementary School

Helen Manley

Sex in the Lives of Today's Children

SEX IS a part of the lives of children from birth. The comments and attitudes of those around the newborn baby are influenced by whether the child is a boy or a girl. The color of the clothing worn home from the hospital is selected on the basis of sex. The toys in his crib are chosen with the sex of the baby in mind. The examples could go on and on.

Throughout life, in and out of school, the child will continue to observe and respond to a world that provides many influences on his attitude toward himself and his own sexuality. Any discussion of family life and sex education programs in the elementary school must consider carefully what these influences are.

Let's examine a few.

Family Experiences Influence Children. The specific kind of family in which a child is reared has a deep-seated effect on a child's entire life. If he is welcomed in the home and is fortunate to have both parents present, he knows the warmth of his mother's love, the delight of his father's strong arms, and the loving teasing of brothers and sisters.

The realization of sex identity is a natural concomitant of life in the family for most children. The child is a boy or girl and as such wears different clothes, plays with different toys, and experiences different behavioral demands. He may note body differences early and see that adult bodies are different from his and observe the difference between his and his sister's genitals.

On trips with mother, he sees pregnant women and he wonders why these women are so fat. The answers he hears may be helpful, foolish, harsh, and even dishonest. In some homes, sex is not what one is, but something one does. It may be hush-hush and dirty. Many parents are ill-at-ease in answering

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children's questions about how life goes on. Early in life, families instill in their children basic attitudes toward sexuality.

Religious Beliefs and Attitudes Influence Children. Some homes provide a definite religious education. In such homes, the quality of children's behavior in all areas of living, including sexual behavior, is frequently judged by what the family thinks the church considers favorable. Some children have these values reinforced by attendance at daily or Sabbath schools. On the other hand, some children grow up outside the context of an organized religion and are not systematically taught respect for a higher being. Many children from both kinds of situations, however, may or may not develop respect for human beings, themselves as well as others, and their sexual behavior will reflect this.

Mass Media Influence Children. Practically all of today's children are exposed to television for long hours daily. Many programs are planned for the young child, and he learns from them to recognize words, repeat jingles, and sing songs.

Furthermore, his experiences are expanded and his curiosity provoked by general commercials and previews of adult programs. He may learn that brushing one's teeth increases sex appeal or that "sexy" is synonymous with wearing few clothes. The child is made aware of sex by visual and auditory impingements on his life from all sides, not just from television, but also from magazines, newspapers, radio, movies, and other sources.

School Life Influences Children. When the child enters school, he already has some information, attitudes, and values about sex. Once in school he notices that boys and girls go to different toilets. Sometimes they have different responsibilities in the classroom. Girls leave the room first; boys last. If chairs are to be moved, boys do it. Some words make other people giggle. A boy pulls up a girl's skirt and giggles. Some books have pictures of naked bodies, and these are carefully examined. A child feels grown-up when he uses some of the words he sees and hears, repeats jokes that others laugh at, and draws in the toilets pictures he has seen. Sex education of a sort has always been present in the schools.

With today's pressures on children to grow up fast, the emphasis on sex in advertising, and the sex education children get from their group life, boys and girls have good reason to be confused about this important aspect of living.

For the most part, sex has been associated primarily with the sex organs and vulgarity. Children need to be made aware of the broader concept of human sexuality as something fine that everyone has, with which he was born, and which he has until death. Through a carefully planned Family Life and Sex Education program, the school can assist each child in developing this broader concept.

Family Life and Sex Education in the Schools

Sex education should be a comprehensive, progressive program extending from the child's infancy to his maturity. A Family Life and Sex Education program in the schools should be planned and executed to produce socially and morally desirable attitudes, practices, and behavior. Such a program aims at more than merely presenting the physiological facts of reproduction and warning against venereal disease or making explicit the mechanics of the sex act.

Rather, in its totality such a program should help children and youth develop ideals, attitudes, and practices which will help them to live better with their present families and which will increase the probabilities of their establishing happy families of their own. The scope of activities involved in this extended program includes all human relationships with all persons at all ages, not only relationships between peers of the opposite sex.

As in all other areas of curriculum, the school must recognize that children come to school from different homes and from varying races, religions, and ideologies. Teachers must be prepared to take children where they are and for what they are before they can help them increase their understandings and abilities.

The school must assume responsibility for planning a comprehensive and progressive curriculum and seeing that it is well taught. Family Life and Sex Education should fit smoothly into the whole curriculum plan and should include all children. Care must be used in the selection of the teaching staff and in the methods of teaching.

The steps involved in starting the program might be stated as follows:

1. Developing community understanding
2. Developing a Family Life and Sex Education curriculum
3. Developing well-prepared teachers
4. Evaluating the program.

Evaluating the Program

The quality of the Family Life and Sex Education program is difficult to evaluate for two significant reasons: (1) its goals are not entirely clear since the social mores in relation to sex behavior are presently unstable, and (2) while known evaluation techniques can take into account with some degree of adequacy the learning of the subject matter taught, they are far less adequate in measuring the changes in attitudes and behaviors on which the success of this program rests.

The true effectiveness of the program for any individual may not be measurable; eventually it may be estimated in terms of decisions made by the young person as he meets his growing social obligations as a family and community leader.

Nevertheless, boys and girls need to be given factual knowledge to counteract the misconceptions and half-truths they often acquire from various sources.

As in so many areas in the education of young people, whether at home or at school, much must be taken on faith. The best possible program should be projected on the basis of the most reliable knowledge and opinions of authorities in the related fields; as the program is tried out, observable results should be noted and indicated changes should be made.

Among the more immediate results of a good program might be (a) the disappearance of toilet markings, snickering over pornographic pictures, and the telling of sex-related jokes; (b) increased respect among the boys and girls; (c) wholesome questions during discussions displacing covert and embarrassed behavior; and (d) open respect for factual knowledge and intelligent attitudes.

In any case, all involved in the program should have a part in evaluating its progress and suggesting changes. An on-going Family Life and Sex Education committee composed of representative teachers of the various age levels, parents, children, and administrators can be of great assistance in evaluating the program and in keeping it flexible.

It is thus with community understanding and acceptance, a well planned curriculum and staff, and a systematic plan of evaluation that a successful Family Life and Sex Education program can be developed. The result of such careful planning will be that of providing all children with a broader concept of human sexuality.

Violence and TV

*National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence**

Excerpts from the statement by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence

THE MASS media are an integral part of the daily life of virtually every American. Among these media, the youngest, television, is the most pervasive. Ninety-five percent of American homes have at least one TV set, and on the average that set is in use for about 40 hours each week.

Commercial television occasionally offers the American public some of the finest in classical and contemporary drama, music, and entertainment, [as well as] excellent documentaries and panel discussions on subjects of cultural and social interest, and it regularly brings the nation together with its skilled coverage of major political events and such exploits as the Apollo space flights. But many of television's entertainment programs feature violence, and this Commission has received from the general public more suggestions, strong recommendations, and often bitter complaints about violence on television than about any other single issue.

We approach this question with great care. In our concern about violence and its causes, it is easy to make television a scapegoat. But we reemphasize what we said in our progress report last January [1969]. There is no simple answer to the problem of violence — no single explanation of its causes, and no single prescription for its control.

The problems of balance, taste, and artistic merit in entertainment programs on television are complex. We cannot countenance government censorship of television. Nor would we seek to im-

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pose arbitrary limitations on programing which might jeopardize television's ability to deal in dramatic presentations with controversial social issues. Nonetheless, we are deeply troubled by television's constant portrayal of violence, not in any genuine attempt to focus artistic expression on the human condition, but rather in pandering to a public preoccupation with violence that television itself has helped to generate.

We do not and cannot answer all of the questions raised by television programs that contain violence. But we do believe that our findings are adequate to support the recommendations which we offer to the broadcasting industry, to the government, and to the public.

Under the auspices of our Media Task Force, this Commission had an independent analysis made of all dramatic television programs presented by the three major commercial television networks during the prime children's and adults' viewing time (4 to 10 p.m.) on weekdays and Sundays and on Saturday mornings in the week of October 1 through 7, 1968, and in the same week in 1967. Some of the findings of this study are here summarized:

- In both 1967 and 1968, approximately 8 out of every 10 dramatic programs contained some violence. On the other hand, the total number of violent episodes in the study week declined by nearly one-fifth (from 478 to 394) between the two years.
- Of the crime, western, and action-adventure programs comprising about two-thirds of the networks' dramatic programs in both 1967 and 1968, virtually all contained violence.
- Cartoon programs comprised only about 10 percent of the total hours of dramatic programs, but they were almost entirely concentrated in the children's programs on Saturday morning. Almost all the cartoon programs contained violence, and the rate of violent episodes was quite high in both years — more than 20 per hour.
- Three-fourths of all violent programs and nearly 9 out of every 10 violent episodes were found in the crime, western, action-adventure category. Analysis of *all* program categories showed that 8 of every 10 violent episodes occurred in a serious or sinister context.

What these findings confirm is that as of 1968 the viewing public was still being exposed to a high level of televised violence. What was the nature of this violence? What were the moral and social values explicit or implicit in the context within which the violence was portrayed?

- Violent encounters in televised drama, unlike violent encounters in real life, are rarely between intimates. They generally occur at close range between young to middle-aged single males who, half the time, are strangers to each other. Six times out of 10, the violent acts involve the use of weapons; equally often, the act evokes no counterviolence from the victim.
- More than half of all the leading characters in the programs (241 out of 455 identified in the two sample weeks) inflict violence in some form upon other persons. Most of these violent encounters (8 out of 10) are between clearly identified "good guys" and "bad guys." The violence is initiated about equally by each type, so that the distinction between "good" and "bad" is not determined by the use of violence.
- Those who commit acts of violence more often perceive them to be in their self-interest rather than in the service of some other cause. Nearly half of all the leading characters who kill (25 of 54) and more than half of all leading characters who are violent (126 of 241) achieve a clearly happy ending in the programs. To this extent, violence is portrayed as a successful means of attaining a desired end.
- Half of all violent episodes do not involve witnesses. When present, witnesses are usually passive and either do not or cannot intervene. In the rare instance in which a witness does intervene, it is as often to encourage or assist violence as it is to prevent it. To this extent, violence is not shown to be unacceptable in the immediate social context of the world of television drama.
- Lawful arrest and trial are indicated as a consequence of major acts of violence in only 2 out of every 10 violent programs. But the question of legality seldom arises because in the world of television drama violence is usually presented outside of any relevant legal context.
- Physical pain — details of physical injury or death — is shown to be a consequence of violence in only one out of every four violent acts. In television drama, violence does not hurt too much, nor are its consequences very bloody or messy, even though it may lead to injury or death.

The findings of this analysis are now a year old. Network officials testifying before this Commission last December [1968] told us that it takes about 18 months for programing decisions to be reflected in network schedules. Thus, the test of network intentions to reduce violence on television, as these were expressed in the spring and summer of 1968, can properly begin with [the 1969] television season. . . .

The preponderance of the available research evidence strongly suggests that violence in television programs can and does have adverse effects upon audiences — particularly child audiences.

Television enters powerfully into the learning process of children and teaches them a set of moral and social values about violence which are inconsistent with the standards of a civilized society.

What younger children see on television is peculiarly "real," for they are still in the process of learning to discriminate between fantasy and reality.

As they get older, children bring somewhat more purposeful motivations to their television viewing, even when they are primarily seeking entertainment. Many adolescents consciously rely on mass media models in learning to play real-life roles. This is especially true of those adolescents who are not well integrated into family and school life and who rely more heavily on the mass media for social learning because more conventional sources are not available. The image of the adult world which most children get from television drama is by and large an unwholesome one.

The ability to differentiate between fact and fiction naturally increases with age and maturity, but it also appears to be a function of the child's particular social environment. Of teen-agers asked whether they agreed or disagreed with such statements as "The programs I see on television tell about life the way it really is" and "The people I see on TV programs are just like the people I meet in real life," 40 percent of the poor black adolescents and 30 percent of the poor whites strongly believed in the true-to-life nature of television content, as compared with only 15 percent of the middle-class white youngsters.

Some defenders of violence on television contend that viewers "drain off" aggressive tendencies by their vicarious participation in violent media programs. According to this reasoning, the mass media serve a socially useful "cathartic" function: By displaying violence they provide harmless outlets for the violent impulses of audience members and thereby prevent overt actions that would be socially undesirable.

Laboratory experiments on the reactions of adults and teenagers to violent film content provide little support for this theory.

In fact, the vast majority of experimental studies on this question have found that observed violence stimulates aggressive behavior, rather than the opposite.

We believe it is reasonable to conclude that a constant diet of violent behavior on television has an adverse effect on human character and attitudes. Violence on television encourages violent forms of behavior and fosters moral and social values about violence in daily life which are unacceptable in a civilized society.

The television industry has consistently argued that its standards for the portrayal of violence and its machinery for enforcement of these standards are adequate to protect the public interest. We do not agree.

We believe that the television networks, network affiliates, independent stations, and other members of the broadcasting industry should recognize the strong probability that a high incidence of violence in entertainment programs is contributing to undesirable attitudes and even to violence in American society. Much remains to be learned about media violence and its effects, but enough is known to require that constructive action be taken at once to reduce the amount and alter the kind of violent programs which have pervaded television.

We offer four recommendations to all the members of the television industry:

1. The broadcasting of children's cartoons containing serious, noncomic violence should be abandoned. We note that the networks have effected substantial improvements in the cartoon programs offered this season. We urge affiliates and independent stations to refrain from broadcast of violent cartoons produced in prior years.

2. The amount of time devoted to the broadcast of crime, western, and action-adventure programs containing violent episodes should be reduced. We include here full-length motion pictures shown by both the networks and independent television stations. In particular, we recommend that programs of this type be restricted to the late viewing hours when fewer very young children are watching television.

3. More effective efforts should be made to alter the basic context in which violence is presented in television dramas. It may be simpler to write scripts and shoot film where confrontations are resolved by violence, but it is just these artistically and dramatically inferior programs that are probably doing the most damage.

4. The members of the television industry should become more actively and seriously involved in research on the effects of violent television programs; and their future policies, standards, and practices with regard to entertainment programs should be more responsive to the best evidence provided by social scientists, psychologists, and communications researchers.

We note that an effective response by the television industry to our recommendations may require some measure of joint action by the industry members. To the extent that cooperative action is necessary in the public interest, we are confident that appropriate antitrust clearances will be provided.

We offer one recommendation to the President and the Congress:

Adequate and permanent financing, in the form of a dedicated tax, should be provided for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting so that it may develop the kind of educational, cultural, and dramatic programing not presently provided in sufficient measure by commercial broadcasting.

We suggest financing by means of a dedicated tax because we believe that public television must be free from the political pressures that result from the need for annual federal appropriations.

We offer the following recommendations to the viewing public and especially to parents:

1. Parents should make every effort to supervise their children's television viewing and to assert their basic responsibility for the moral development of their children.

2. The viewing public should express to the networks and to the local stations both their disapproval of programs which they find objectionable and their support for programs they like. We believe that most families do not want large doses of violence on television, and thus we urge them to make the weight of their opinion felt.

Crushes:

What Should You Do About Them?

Sidney Berman

THE TEACHER is the natural recipient of a wide range of emotional responses of all children, and these responses need to be dealt with in such a way as to enhance rather than interfere with the primary goal of educating the child. Most learning theory does not take into consideration or emphasize strongly the emotional climate that the child creates covertly in the educational situation and that constantly influences what is going on in that situation.

Many children, sad to say, respond to the teaching experience with indifference or hostility rather than with a very positive feeling. We occasionally have the opposite extreme, however, where the child develops an intense attachment to the teacher. This does not necessarily mean that his teacher is an unusual person who is inspiring the child. It may simply mean that the child is not receiving sufficient emotional gratification elsewhere and is attempting to receive it from the teacher.

I think the teacher has to be aware not only of how to treat the overdetermined reaction of a crush, but also has to be very sensitive to the child who does not respond, who withdraws, or who is hostile.

There are two periods in a child's development when he will at times show a strong infatuation with the teacher. The first period occurs around the ages of five and six and seven. Little ones are then giving up a closer relationship to their parents, and they transfer to the teacher these feelings of affection.

This is the normal experience. Indeed, it is positive if at the same time the child has a wholesome relationship to the parents. That child will end up working for sublimated reasons. But some children — those with an inordinate need for love — cannot relinquish their powerful attachment to the parents and will likewise show an intense desire to be close to the teacher. This may flatter one teacher; but another teacher may misconstrue it or be made uncomfortable by it. In either case the teacher may fail to use it to advantage, to encourage a positive, benevolent orientation to the learning experience, per se.

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We next find crushes occurring during early and middle adolescence. Here, too, there is a shift in emotional relationships. Emotional gratification, rather than being sought largely from the family, is more looked for outside the family. This is necessary for the child's development, to enable him to break from childhood ties.

Again, some youngsters will show an overdetermined attachment to a teacher. If the teacher responds intensely to it himself, then he is supporting a deviant involvement that can interfere with the learning experience — for everyone. Young people are extremely sensitive, and when they feel that a teacher is making a big investment in one or two students to the neglect of the others, they resent it and give less to the learning situation than they otherwise would.

The teacher should accept the crush in a benevolent, objective way without embarrassing or humiliating the student. He should maintain his role in regard to the teaching goals, the assignments, the work that needs to be done — in an atmosphere that stimulates interest in education rather than the personal situation. This will help the child contain his feelings.

Some teachers try to respond as parent surrogates to children who seem to be having emotional difficulties. It is impossible for such a response to provide meaningful support because these disturbed children usually have such a distorted basic organization in their home lives that although the teacher's involvement may tend to draw them away from the problems that exist in their homes, it will not solve those problems. Furthermore, because of their emotional difficulties, these children will neither be able to work through the reality of the home problems nor to function effectively in their relationship to the teacher.

On the other hand, every normal child does need parent surrogates who encourage his emotional maturity and facilitate his transition to adulthood. And a good teacher is a wonderful parent surrogate because he nurtures the child's development and doesn't contaminate it by an emotional involvement.

I would speculate that the child who lacks surrogates would feel an alienation that later might erupt seriously as discontent with the social system, a phenomenon that, of course, we are now seeing far too much of. (I am speaking here of discontent without constructive purpose.) Today, parents do not have the support of collateral family relationships in the upbringing of children, and many are unable to help their children in the process of socialization.

But, back to crushes. The fantasy life of children may play havoc in regard to what they think the teacher is and how they think the teacher is responding. Simply as an example of the need for sensitive understanding, I'm reminded of the male teacher in *Up the Down Staircase* who was so unreceptive to the strong attachment one of his girl students felt for him that he caused her to attempt suicide. A teacher like that, who protects himself with cold detachment from the crush, may shatter the child's feelings. At the other extreme are the teachers who, lacking sufficient emotional gratification in their personal lives, respond to the inordinate needs of students in an inappropriate way.

In dealing with a violent crush, the teacher should meet it frontally in a benevolent way, without embarrassment. By recognizing its psychological significance and discussing it objectively, he makes the youngster more comfortable about his feelings and about the learning experience. Otherwise, the youngster's fantasy life will continue to distort the relationship with the teacher. Kindly confrontation helps the student overcome his difficulties. If the teacher says nothing, then the fantasy life will go on and will be an interference to the teaching experience, both for the teacher and for the student.

I think that teachers, male or female, have to be factual in the confrontation, without brutally hurting the young student. They should explain the crush as being an expression of the student's strong needs. They should define its ill effect — how it interferes in relation to the purpose for which the student is in school. They should show respect for the student's feelings but at the same time encourage him to make education his primary concern until such time as he can find his affection in a more realistic way elsewhere.

When one is honest about feelings of closeness, even when they're intense, and neither ignores nor becomes deeply involved with them, one has a better opportunity to put them in proper perspective. Handled in the right way, the crush can be a positive growth experience for the student. (Actually, I feel sorry for those who go through life without ever having a crush, because they are usually the ones who can never feel close.)

If the crush is not handled at all, it leaves a residue of guilt and sensitiveness that blocks future relationships. So the teacher, as the recipient of the full range of emotional reactions of the youngsters he teaches, should accept the responsibility of dealing with the intense crush in a way that facilitates the emotional experience.

Phobias

Joseph D. Noshpitz

WHEN President Roosevelt told the American people: "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself," his statement was both politically powerful and psychologically correct. He saw a phobia situation coming up, diagnosed it, and gave the appropriate interpretation. Like all good therapeutic statements, it struck deeply into the hearts of people and remained memorable in their minds.

"The fear of fear" is as good a definition as any of *phobia*. We usually think of it as a fear of something specific: of heights or animals or storms or elevators; of small closed places or big open spaces; or of some loss of control of our own bodies — a fear of fainting or blushing or wetting or soiling. Indeed, there is no end to the variety of morbid fears which have wracked this life or that — even such unusual items as fear of dolls or bridges or virgins! And, of course, there are the all too well-known children's fears of school or teacher or other children.

You might say we humans are a fear-prone species, and you would be right. The dominant emotion of early childhood is anxiety; indeed, it is possible to trace out a regular sequence of normal fears during our growing up and to track back from the phobias of later life to these early developmental events. This is so because the phobia of later life, be it in childhood or adulthood, is, in part at least, a memory of such a terrifying moment in our past — a moment of such piercing, overwhelming horror that we never want to feel anything like that again, ever! If anything even suggests the possibility of recalling and reliving those emotions, we go into a panic at the very thought. Thus, for the child who connects school with some early memory of this kind, it is impossible to go to school. It scares him to take even one step toward it because it hints at recalling this earlier pain. And he fears that ancient fear; he fears fear itself, and does everything possible to avoid it.

Not that he recalls the details of the old experience; that part of it stays buried deep within him. But something tells him that it's dangerous to go to school. Something begins to make his pulse race and causes his whole universe to be charged with alarm, apprehension, and foreboding. Something makes it awful for him to try to make that first gesture toward going. And that something isn't really the school at all; it's the old hidden nightmare experience, out of sight but infinitely powerful. He senses it and is afraid.

Roosevelt was right — nothing is so scary as the fear of fear, and that's exactly what a phobia is. The external thing (the school, or the height, or whatever) that triggers the feeling is only a symbol, a device of the mind to tie in the old and the new. Usually the person can say, "I know it's irrational to be afraid of so-and-so, but I just am. I can't stand to go near it, even though it makes no sense. I can't help it. I just feel that way."

Often enough, people are rather embarrassed by their phobias and will make up excuses to avoid admitting their existence. How often the child with a school phobia will say, "I feel sick today and can't go to school," or, "The teacher picks on me," or, "The other children will hurt me if I go." There are all sorts of "explanations," all sorts of means, to disguise and evade the pain of encounter with the really frightening situation — the symbolic meaning of going to school.

How do such symbolic businesses come into being? Where do these panicky emotions originally come from, and how do they get to their important place in the life of the phobic person?

It is possible to trace out a reasonably clear sequence of fears as normal development goes on. At first, there is the fear of the little baby, hungry for food. Watch such an infant if food is withheld for a bit and you can see him fall more and more deeply into the grip of his pain and frustration. He whimpers, then he cries, then he screams, and presently he is shaking and thrashing, red, suffused, literally flooded by the dire feelings within him. Beside himself, helpless, unable to do anything to relieve his own pain, he is, in short, overwhelmed. The first stage, then, is the fear of terrible sensations from within that can't be controlled or lessened.

The baby learns soon enough that his relief comes only from the mothering person, and, once this is learned, mother (or her equivalent) becomes vitally important as the great reliever. But this, in turn, engenders a new possibility for fear: What if mother doesn't come? What if she leaves and isn't there when needed? So separation, loss of mother, becomes the next great stage in the learning about fears, and "separation anxiety" is a recognized level in personality growth and development, normal and universal.

In the second half of the first year, the mere appearance of a stranger can trigger off quite a reaction in a baby who is not too sure about mother's presence. At best, he will certainly subject the stranger to careful scrutiny and exploration; at worst he can begin to cry and show every evidence of real terror and upset.

"Stranger anxiety" is another of the benchmarks along the road to growing up.

With the movement into the second and third year of life, with speech and walking and the many avenues of mastery and achievement that come in this period, the concern about separation is lessened to some extent. With the greater awareness of the meaning of affection, a new, richer dimension of fear appears — the fear of loss of love. "Mommy or Daddy will be mad at me; they'll turn against me," thinks the toddler and is afraid. And how well parents know this! "Mother won't like you any more if you're not a good boy. She'll give you away!" has sent many a child into tears and brought instant compliance.

The new fear does not lay to rest the earlier fears. They're still there, still easy to evoke. One need only study the face of a two-year-old in a department store when his mother has stepped around a counter to check a price. He looks about and suddenly is aware that his mother is not in sight. What a change comes over him, what a wave of sheer inexpressible terror. His face contorts, the tears pour down, and he screams in fright! Mother rushes back, and all is well, but for a moment the ancient separation anxiety still waits in the wings ready to swoop and pounce.

Well, growth goes on; development proceeds. As children become more and more aware of their bodies, of sex differences, new grounds for concern appear. How come little boys and girls are different; Daddy and Mommy are different? Can a boy be changed to a girl? Was the girl once a boy and somebody (a bad man? a mean old witch? Daddy? Mommy?) came and took something away? The penis and clitoris that all little ones discover and explore and play with become charged with immense anxiety and power; fantasies wreathe about them filled with longing and yearning and fear of retribution and concern about bodily damage.

Love now becomes connected with danger, the famous Oedipus complex develops, and the youngster's life at three and four and five is charged with make-believe and endless playing out of themes of mastery and injury and, in particular, genital injury. Usually this isn't expressed in direct form, but the songs and stories of childhood are filled with tales of ". . . along came a blackbird, and snipped off her nose . . ." or ". . . cut off their tails with a carving knife; did you ever see such a sight in your life . . ." and the little boys are described as made of ". . . snips and snails, and puppy dogs' tails. . . ."

The final stage comes when all this is laid to rest by the formation of conscience and the development within the child of an authoritative voice that can praise or blame. How usefully a conscience can protect us from trouble. But how a conscience can make us suffer! Now a new set of fears emerges, fears of an avenging, terrible conscience, full of accusation and blame, full of deprecation and guilt. The danger now is of the loss of self-esteem, of falling into a state of self-hate and remorse, of being pursued by guilt. How helpless we can be in the face of this inner avenger that knows all our secrets and from whom there is no escape.

The basic mechanisms of the phobia are to take these inner sources of fear — the fear of separation or loss of love or body injury or guilty retribution — and to turn them out of the self onto some other situation, person, or symbol, where the memory of the past terror can be kept at a distance, where there can be some modicum of relief from the inner threat. If the inner threat can be converted into something external, it can be avoided, and life can be lived so much more endurably.

If the child projects his fears out onto the teacher, small wonder that he would wish to avoid that guilt-engendering, fantasy-bedecked person. Or if he projects them onto the dog or the policeman, how reasonable to be panic-stricken in their presence.

The child who becomes afraid of someone or something "out there" no longer has to deal with the pain "in here." To be sure, this will restrict his life to some extent. Perhaps he cannot ride on trains, take planes, cross bridges, enter elevators, encounter horses, or whatever. Maybe he has to make some wide detours or keep out of certain activities. But he is a great deal more comfortable in general and is quite willing to make the sacrifice in order to avoid the pain.

Now that we have looked at some of the kinds of fears that are basic to human existence, the "normal phobias" so to speak, let's turn to some of the situations that produce the actual complicated business of the phobic illness. An essential point to keep in mind about phobias is the fact of their complexity; they're not simple conditions. They represent at once a yearning, a wish, some strong desire, and a sense of its forbidding, the inhibition of the wish, the defense against it.

Let's suppose a child is angry at Mother or Father, and says or just thinks: "I wish you were dead. I wish you would disappear, be swallowed up. I wish you would go away and I'd never see you again. In fact, I'd like to swallow you down myself." Immediately he's confronted with the other side of his feelings: "What would I do if I lost Mommy or Daddy? I'd be so alone. I'd be hungry, empty, terrified." And a wave of defensive activity takes over — the angry thought has to be buried, put out of mind.

If the parents continue to do things that make the child upset, however; if they reprove him or prefer another child or prefer one another or criticize him, he may not be able to keep the angry wish at bay. So, he uses another device. He projects it outward — it is not he who wants to swallow up his parent, make him or her disappear. No, it is the reverse. It is someone out there who wants to swallow *him* up, make him disappear.

And, another change! It is not Daddy or Mommy who wants to — it is a dog! He becomes terrified at the sight of a dog. He becomes afraid to go into the street lest he meet one, and, incidentally, he is always home to keep an eye on the parents and make sure they're all right. As long as he is home with no dog around, he is contented, plays happily, is loving, and can't be a nicer boy. The issue of his hatred and anger and swallowing-up feelings — all that is at rest. The dog bears that. And so his life is spared the impact of his feelings and the work of struggling with them. Actually, this is rather a neat and efficient bit of psychological gadgetry, durable and dependable.

Incidentally, the choice of symbol (what to be scared of) is never chance or accidental. Somewhere in the youngster's life, "dog" became an important idea. Perhaps Sister had been bitten by a dog or Daddy often spoke of the dog he had in childhood or there had been a mad-dog scare which upset Mother — or all of these. There's always a reason for the choice of what to be afraid of.

Now, the moment comes when the parents, or the child himself, are so bothered by his inability to go outside that a lot of agitation gets under way to "cure" him, get him over it — whereupon a number of things can happen. There are, in fact, a great many ways to get a person to abandon a phobia.

For instance, one can make him so frightened of continuing the phobic behavior that the new situation becomes even more scary than the original condition. This in a sense underlies a certain philosophy of training soldiers: To develop a good soldier, you must make him more afraid of his own officers than he is of the enemy! In the home, this happens when, let's say, a father takes a strap to a child and so terrifies him that he runs outside despite his fears, just to get away from the new threat. Presto, the phobia is broken!

What happens within the child is another matter. If he can't maintain the phobia, he has to find some other way to handle the inner feelings. Perhaps he can become a more precise and obsessive person — colder, less emotional — compliant and well-behaved, to be sure, but with a general suppression of spontaneity and freedom to feel anything. Or he could become sadder and somewhat depressed, shifting the stress from the bad dog to his whole feeling of being a bad self. After all, he has such wicked wishes. Or any one of many other changes may occur.

Another means of getting by a phobia is by "deconditioning." First the child is shown a picture of a dog across the room; next the picture is brought up close; later, he is shown a statue of a dog; later still, a rubbery lifelike model; eventually, a stuffed furry puppy; and finally, a real live dog. All the time this goes on, he is encouraged to talk about his feelings and handle the various representations. Often enough this will cause a particular symptom to vanish, although the child must still get rid of the inner nucleus. Nonetheless, when done gradually and gently, such a method usually gives the youngster the time to make a better redistribution of inner energy than would be possible in the face of a sudden forced yielding.

Optimally, however, the youngster is not faced with gimmicks or threats but is given a chance to talk about his feelings. He is free to express some of the hidden, hard-to-face emotions, to get them out of the darkness and into the light, so to speak, where he can really master them in a healthy way and have the energy thus freed available now for growth and learning. Hence, the general agreement of psychiatrists that phobias are handled best by some form of psychotherapy or counseling.

Like all human conditions, the phobia varies widely in its depth and severity. One person will be in a car accident, and for some weeks thereafter he will be unable to get into a car. If he tries, he begins to feel pangs of intense anxiety: He sweats, trembles, feels his heart race, and becomes literally paralyzed. He just can't do it. Overwhelmed, and totally panicked, he recalls that awful moment when he was yawing across the highway into the path of another car.

As the weeks go by, however, he gradually feels less of this terror. Although to begin with, he can't sit in the same seat he was in when he had the accident, he can ride in a car in his neighborhood but not out on the highway. In a few months, he is generally back to normal, except that he never gets over feeling tense at speeds of more than 40 miles an hour.

Another person who goes through a similar accident may have no phobic reaction at all, while yet another may develop a car phobia that does not get better. Indeed, the phobia gradually spreads from cars to trains to planes until even the sound or sight of a conveyance brings on the anxiety, and the person is confined to his home.

What makes for the difference? Well, aside from the important difference which lies in the fact that one person may have been born better able to cope with things than another, the kind and intensity of the experiences of anxiety during their growing up would make a tremendous difference in vulnerability.

If one person has had too many overwhelming fears to handle — too many separations, too many moments of unattended hunger, too many threats of being given away because he was a bad boy or of having his penis cut off because he played with himself — then his readiness to develop a severely crippling and progressively worsening phobia might be enormously augmented. A man with a relatively comfortable psychological history, with much less trouble of the anxiety-provoking kind, probably could do far better.

The way we rear a child will have a profound effect on his inner strengths and his capacities to endure stress later on. During rearing, it is essential to avoid the overstimulating that results from exposing him to adult nakedness, excessive body handling, enemas, adult intimacy, and the like. These build up huge pressures of forbidden yearnings in the little ones that often end in phobic avoidance as part of the necessary coping equipment. It's something the child comes to yearn for strongly and something he early learns he shouldn't have and shouldn't even want.

Dealing with childhood aggression by setting limits, by saying no when it's appropriate and making it stick, is the other essential element. If the love feelings are handled without arousing the youngster excessively and the anger feelings are controlled without retaliating, the chances for avoiding later psychological difficulties are surely improved.

Little League Can Hurt Kids

Donald F. Schwertley
and William Hines

ANYONE who reads the sports page is familiar with such terms as *player contract, franchise, farm team, all-star team,* and *world series.* They're part of the vocabulary of organized, professional baseball, the king of professional athletics that pays those who participate handsome salaries to entertain sports fans across the nation.

Strange to say, these terms are also part of the vernacular of every Little League baseball program from coast to coast. In case you find this hard to believe, let me relate some interesting facts. When a boy reaches the tender age of seven, he is eligible to try out for a Little League farm team. After several years of seasoning, he is eligible to go for the big time. Before he has even entered junior high school, a boy may come up through the bush leagues; hold a baseball contract; belong to an all-star team; and, if he can withstand the pressure, face a Little League World Series. A wholesome experience for a young boy? I wonder.

For years, child psychologists have contended that Little League activity is creating too much pressure and tension for participating youngsters. Former major league pitcher Joey Jay, the first Little League graduate to reach the major leagues, says he feels the program is too ambitious, with far too much parental activity and supervision. "I am certainly not in sympathy with the Little League program the way it has developed," states Jay. "Perhaps it was not intended to be this way, but it is not serving the purposes it claims to be and I don't think it is helping baseball."

Jay is particularly critical of the parents' role in the program. Others agree. It is frightening to watch a normally serene parent transformed into a raging wild man while watching his 10-year-old son compete in a Little League game. The amazing thing is that this same parent seems to be a wholesome, if somewhat vocal, fan when cheering his 16-year-old on the local high school team.

What causes the transformation? The answer seems to be in the organization, supervision, and purpose of the Little League program. While educators question organized interschool competition below the seventh grade, the Little League program has farm teams for the first grader. And even though school coaches and physical education instructors are often overly ambitious with their programs, they are educators first and coaches second. Also their programs are under the watchful eye of professional supervisors and administrators, who are careful to see that intraschool athletics remain a part of the total education program of the school.

Consequently, while children in a school athletic program may not seem aware of it, they are usually conscious of the fact that they are students first and athletes second.

It would seem that Little League organizers need to examine the results of the program in the light of its expressed purposes. They need only to observe the actions of the spectator-parent to realize that Little League activities are not developing healthy values.

And in the same vein, educators should reexamine the desirability of intraschool athletics in the elementary school. Are Little League programs filling a void in the curriculum? Can an intraschool athletic program at the elementary level better serve the needs of our children than the Little League? The question is interesting food for thought.

— *Donald F. Schwertley*

Two Other Negative Votes

IT IS natural perhaps for a father to watch with pride the prowess of his offspring on the playing field, but . . . youngsters mustered into baseball and football leagues before their time are forced into situations they are unqualified to cope with. The notion that children are "little adults" has been swept away many years since by psychologists and physiologists alike.

Dr. Nicholas Giannestras of Cincinnati, who would like to see the Little Leagues toned down or broken up, says . . . that the vast majority of juvenile ball clubs do not even require a cursory physical examination.

Giannestras noted [at a meeting of surgeons in San Francisco] that X rays made of 40 Little League pitchers in a California city showed in every instance some evidence of physical change in the throwing arm. "Little League elbow" is today one of the commonest complaints in every pediatrician's practice. When only the muscles or ligaments are strained, the trouble can be corrected readily enough, but when the bones of the arm are involved, pathological change is irreversible.

Giannestras is not a professional wet blanket; in fact, he is a big sports fan himself. He believes the Little League idea is valid, but says its execution requires some drastic change.

For one thing, Giannestras says, the real peewees, little kids aged eight to twelve whose exploits gladden their fathers' hearts at the ball park on Saturday morning, should be barred from competition in the interests of their health. Also, he insists, the commercial sponsorship of Little League teams and the widely over-organized city, state, and regional tournaments systems should be eliminated.

All this will come as a blow to father. There is more than faint suspicion that the Little League is an ego-reinforcement for the perennial adolescent who, pushing 40, passes the ancestral jockstrap on to junior because he knows he isn't the man he used to be (and probably never was).

— *William Hines*

COMPETITIVE sports organized by school or other community agencies are now played so universally in all parts of the country by children 13 years of age and younger that positive and realistic guidelines to govern participation need to be suggested.

Children of this age are not miniature adults. They seek and can profit from suitable play opportunities, but the benefits are not automatic. High quality supervision and a broad range of physical education and sports activities adapted to the needs and capacities of growing children are required for full realization of benefits.

The problems involved are sufficiently significant and variable to warrant each community's having a local committee representing educational, recreational, and medical specialists. Decisions about all school or community athletic programs may then be made in terms of local interest and needs, adequate supervision, and assurance of proper safeguards.

The positive values of sports should be emphasized because of their important effects on stamina and physiologic functioning and because of their lifelong value as recreational activities. Examples of competitive sports appropriate for children of elementary school age are archery, boating, bowling, golf, skating, swimming, tennis, and track.

Sports with varying degrees of collision risk include baseball, basketball, football, hockey, soccer, softball, and wrestling. The hazards of such competition are debatable. The risks are usually associated with the conditions under which practice and play are conducted and the quality of supervision.

Unless a school or community can provide exemplary supervision — medical and educational — it should not undertake a program of competitive sports, especially collision sports, at the preadolescent level.

— *Excerpted from* Desirable Athletic Competition for Children of Elementary School Age, *a statement approved by the American Academy of Pediatrics; the American Association of Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, an NEA national affiliate; the AMA Committee on Medical Aspects of Sports; and the Society of State Directors of HPER.*

Guidance at an Early Age

Harold G. Shane
and June Grant Shane

IN AN educational world that has been moving rapidly from yesterday to tomorrow on most fronts, major and well-established developments in elementary school counseling and guidance have been far less in evidence than have basic changes in content and in methods of instruction. As recently as 1965 one could find almost no "new guidance" programs in primary and middle schools. Now, however, with governmental funds to lubricate the machinery of expansion, and with incandescent new interest in childhood (especially early childhood), the emphasis on providing guidance services at an early age has become little short of spectacular.

What is the new elementary school guidance? During the past five years, the concept of guidance in the elementary school has broadened considerably. It is now construed to be a field concerned with the professional, skillful deployment of all available human and material resources at the school's command.

According to leading theorists, these resources are used to create a learning climate that will maximize the development of each child as he seeks to understand, accept, and direct himself.

But good elementary schools have always tried to use resources wisely in order to provide a good learning milieu. What, then, is *new* about the new guidance?

Essentially, the newness lies in the approach, in a fresh organizational construct. The services and functions of "new" early-age guidance are in many ways familiar both to elementary teachers and seasoned counselors; nevertheless, the concepts they reflect and the coordination they imply are something decidedly more than old wine in new bottles. The "new" counselor at the elementary level needs to be someone of a different species (or genus at least) from the typical secondary school counselor.

The counselor who works with children makes himself of value in the program *to the extent* that he combines within himself a number of professional attributes that enable him to contribute to the program in ways in which teachers, principals, and other personnel cannot contribute *in the same measure.*

Let us now turn to our roster of 24 potential contributions that a new type of counselor can make to the education of the elementary school child, bearing in mind that the services are not fixed or unchanging but are in a state of transition.

Counseling Services

1. Individual counseling through which the counselor seeks to develop insights that help him better to understand a child over a period of time; insights that the counselor shares with the teacher or team to further the learner's progress toward maturity.
2. Small-group counseling, often designed to find ways of improving or alleviating interpersonal problems that may involve from two to five children.
3. Group counseling to help children learn the art of decision making, the meaning of leadership as a group function, and the sensitivities and skills involved in interpersonal relationships.

Consulting Functions

4. Learner-information service to help children develop better self-insights.
5. Consulting service for parents that involves more than skillful discussion of problem situations. Even before the school's first contact with the entering child, the counselor has the opportunity to accumulate information and impressions about the child through initial interviews. Later on, this "reverse flow" of information from parents is often useful in individual and group sessions in which the counselor hopes to help parents realize the importance of a home environment that is responsive to and stimulating for their child.
6. Consulting with individual teachers, team members, or supporting staff members about the underlying causes of certain types of behavior.
7. In-service education sessions in which the well-prepared guidance counselor, as appropriate, presents data and viewpoints that faculty members need for a deeper understanding of childhood.
8. Input for teaching teams and consultants to keep such persons advised about pupil progress in educational areas with which they may be out of touch. (The information gap, a problem

for consultants — say in reading or science — can also trouble team teachers, who rarely work with all children in a variety of school situations.)

9. Advice about the therapeutic use of content. Under certain circumstances, subject matter can be used to help "heal" or lessen the problems of particular children.

Educational Biography Services

10. Assessment, a guidance function involving the use of multiple means to study pupils' progress profiles. Conventional testing is only one component of many indices of expected performance.

11. Evaluation, a continuous process of inquiry designed to lead to reliable conclusions as to how well the school is attaining the changes it is endeavoring to make in the children's behavior. Many evaluative instruments in addition to tests are used in the process.

12. Progress reports, which, as they begin to replace traditional grading, are bringing about an improved psychological effect on the elementary school learner.

13. Record keeping, data accumulation, and decisions about how records and data are to be used.

Experience Sequencing Services

14. Grouping of teachers and children for teachability, including short-term, common-purpose grouping that cuts across age levels in nongraded primary and middle schools.

15. Sequencing the child's experiences in such a way as to keep his social, physical, and academic characteristics in balance.

School Resource Utilization

16. Intraschool referrals that help the child make optimum progress through methodical contacts with the human and material resources of such special personnel as the physical education instructor, educational media specialist, school nurse, remedial clinicians, school psychologist, psychometrist, school dentist and physician.

17. Interagency referrals that pertain to social agencies or such personnel outside the school as psychiatric social workers.

Longitudinal Studies

18. Function-related or task-related research undertaken to obtain, through study and experimentation, the data needed for his work.

19. Original professional inquiries designed to add to current knowledge regarding the improvement of new guidance practices.

20. Follow-up studies to determine the success of decisions made in regard to grouping, experience sequencing, and similar teacher and counselor decisions.

Coordination and Leadership Contributions

21. General management of pupil records (provided the counselor has suitable clerical assistance).

22. Supervision of various special-service personnel (psychometrists, personnel in special education, school psychologists, remedial specialists) and coordination of their services.

23. Phasing in of new students, scheduling of testing programs, and development of new record forms as needed.

24. Curriculum liaison work in which the counselor conducts a continuing study of the use made of current curriculum materials and of the projected development of new materials. As one of the few faculty members presumably in contact with children from their early years in school until they depart — and as a student of childhood — the counselor is in a unique position to think clearly about the curriculum as a series of guided transactions that increase the learner's value to himself and to the culture of which he is a part.

If current writings are any index, the 24 potential contributions listed above are a reasonably accurate inventory of what the new guidance can do to freshen and enliven elementary education and to make its practices more humane and meaningful.

But making childhood education better takes more than an accumulation of long-needed services and functions designed to improve the educational climate for three- to twelve-year-olds.

The heart of the matter is whether higher education is capable of producing a new breed of guidance specialists quickly enough in these crucial times to perform the tasks that beg to be done.

Teachers seeking escape from abrasive daylong classroom contacts with boys and girls will not do the job. Neither will unsuccessful secondary school counselors hoping to retread themselves and make a fresh start with younger clients.

To make guidance in the elementary school become the great force it can become, we need in-depth study by persons who already know how to work with children and preadolescents. They must be persons who are willing to make the vigorous effort that is required in the effective performance of a reasonable number of the important services and functions of elementary school guidance. They must be willing to exert leadership in helping schools move closer to expert guidance in early, middle, and later childhood.

Developing Mentally Healthy Children

Katherine E. D'Evelyn

> *"Johnny is such a source of confusion in the classroom. He is always interrupting. Some days I wish he weren't in my class."*
>
> *"Sarah never gets her work done. I've just given up expecting anything of her."*
>
> *"Bill can't work with others. He can't go along with another child's suggestion."*
>
> *"Mary isn't learning to read. What can I do?"*

The Elementary School and Mental Health

IN MY years as a school psychologist, I have heard statements such as these quite often. Experienced as well as beginning teachers are puzzled many times by the behavior of the children with whom they work and need help in determining how to handle children who do not adjust well to their classrooms.

Too often the problem faced by the teacher is related to the way the child feels about himself as a person rather than his lack of ability to succeed or work with others. That's why it is essential that those of us who work with children understand the important role we must play in creating an atmosphere which promotes a positive self-image and good mental health.

This positive feeling about one's self which we refer to as "self-concept," "self-image," "self-regard," or "ego" is an important part of the child's development with which elementary schools must be concerned.

I believe that the school has a major responsibility for aiding ego development in the young child and that ego development and learning are closely related. Unless the child has a high self-regard, he is not motivated to learn. Unless he is successful in his school tasks, his ego or self-regard will suffer.

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Recent studies of nursery school children, regardless of socio-economic or racial background, seem to indicate that the earlier a child has good experiences that lead to strong ego development the better it is for the child. Some of these studies give the pessimistic point of view, however, that kindergarten or elementary school is too late to try to help the child build a strong ego.

My point of view as an educator and psychologist is that we cannot, nor do we need to, take such a negative attitude toward helping children develop a positive self-image. While it is true that some children will inevitably fall by the wayside for a number of reasons, there are also many who will lead a happier, more successful life because of the experiences they have in an elementary school. Experiences with teachers and children outside of the family do have an impact on elementary children and may be the deciding factor in determining a child's future.

It is only as the young child gains the approval of his peers and the important adults in his life that his self-regard or ego grows and becomes strengthened. A child must win the approval of the adults and children with whom he lives, works, and plays. As the young child gains this approval, he begins to see himself as a capable person who can master his environment. Since he is successful, he can dream of success in the future and project or imagine what he would like to be when he grows up.

There are certain "musts" in a child's life if he is to have the strong ego that leads to sound mental health. These "musts" are true whether the child comes from an affluent suburb or an impoverished ghetto. These essential ingredients are:

1. Every child *must* know and feel he is an integral member of his class.
2. Every child *must* know what is expected of him as a class member.
3. Every child *must* become involved with his classmates.
4. Every child *must* begin to develop self-discipline.
5. Every child *must* achieve according to his ability.

. . . this bulletin will discuss these essential ingredients of a good mental health program. . . . We know there are bound to be failures with children, but when this happens, the school specialists should be called upon for assistance.

This bulletin is not directed toward the seriously disturbed child needing very special help but toward the children, with mental health needs to which we must be more sensitive, found in most classrooms, nursery through elementary school. Thus, I hope that each reader will be able to apply to his own classroom the five "musts" of children's mental health. . . . The teacher may adapt his manner of working with his class so that what he does will be meaningful to his particular pupils, but the concepts remain the same.

The School as a Positive Force

The main goal of the school is usually stated to be the teaching of those skills and abilities that will enable an individual to live in society and to be able to cope with life's demands. The school can also be a positive force in the mental health of children.

. . . it has been made unquestionably clear how very dependent the elementary child is on the teacher for security, learning, and ego growth. In the elementary school the teacher-pupil relationship should be a close one. The young child needs a strong person as a guide, one who is controlled and disciplined, but also warm and supportive. Since the young child's ego is still developing, he needs a sensitive authority figure to imitate.

Young children need to be in a situation where they sense that things will go well. They need to be free to pursue their tasks knowing they can go to the teacher for needed assistance and that the world around them will go smoothly.

The teacher is not a pal who meets the children on their level. He is the teacher, the leader, the voice of authority, the strong one. Although not a pal, he is a person who can be counted on and trusted. The child must know that the teacher is always "on his side," to help him through difficult lessons and through difficult social situations. The teacher will not always "take his side" by approving everything he does, but he will be understanding. He will help him or point the way to managing a situation. The teacher will not be perfect because that is impossible and undesirable. It is good for children to see that adults, too, show emotion. They do not feel too guilty then when they feel angry or jealous. If a teacher sometimes shows just anger, and is not violent in his reactions, it is normal behavior and useful for the children to observe.

Although the importance of the preschool years in relation to a child's mental health and ego development cannot be minimized, we still must not overlook the impact of the child's experience in the elementary school. All of us who have worked with elementary pupils know that they continue to grow and change for the better when they have "good" school experiences.

The five "musts" of mental health discussed . . . can be stated and written down much easier than they can be supplied to each child with whom we work. It is not possible to provide every child at all times and in the same degree with this stated list of ingredients for sound mental health. But we must try. Each teacher must go about the business in his own way, and if he believes these essential elements are important for all children, he will be helping children to face life with confidence and courage.

CONFLICT AND GROWTH

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Youth and Educational Discomfort

Jean D. Grambs

Carol,

I really don't know what to do. I'm really mixed up!!!

I really mean it. I don't want to stay here, because all I do is get screamed at, my parents don't trust me, they won't let me go out at night, whats the use of stayin. The only reason I have to stay is my friends (YOU) and Tom, but Toms leaving anyway. Diane wants him and Jeff to go with us. I would really feel safer then, but then if I would got caught with boys, my mother would never forgive me. EVER.

*She'd probably take me to the doctors to get a test to see if I was pregnant. Oh GOD Carol, I don't know what to do. I just feel like leaving and never ever coming back, because this place is really, really messed up. I really mean it!!**

"I REALLY don't know what to do. . . ."

If one were to pick out a single phrase to characterize many adolescents today, that one, written on a note passed from one eighth-grade girl to another and picked up by a teacher, would serve. Countless adolescents are saying "I really don't know what to do," and they are saying it in a variety of drastic ways—running away from home, taking drugs, wearing incredible clothes, engaging in mass protests about all kinds of things everywhere across the country.

The lines from Yeats' *The Second Coming,*

> "Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold,
> Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world . . ."

apply only too well to youth today. Being more vulnerable, today's youth are more tortured and bewildered by the inexplicable contradictions of their world. How can they respond appropriately when the pressures put upon them literally tear them apart?

---

* The author of this note was an eighth-grade student. Her records show that she had an IQ of 123 and that her parents were college graduates. In the course of a year, her marks had dropped from a B plus average in seventh grade to a low C average when this note was written.

Elementary school principals and teachers are concerned — and they must be far more concerned — about what is happening *to* young children and what is happening *within* them. The child in the elementary school is on his way to an early adolescence and a troubled one. In one way or another, he is already related to the adolescent world — through brothers and sisters, through television, through adult actions and reactions to adolescents and their behavior. Sometimes this young child looks forward to joining the adolescent world; sometimes he wants, consciously or unconsciously, to avoid it as long as he can. Principals and teachers need the best possible understanding of young people of all ages. They cannot allow the boundary lines of school organization patterns or the much-too-slow move to develop a truly continuous program for young people to divert them from their responsibility for being intelligently or sympathetically knowledgeable about all youth.

It has not been easy to be an adolescent in the last several decades; it is infinitely more difficult now. Adults (over 35 or those who were born adult) seem to find adolescents increasingly hard to understand and to deal with. This response of adults is similar to that of the person who, having struggled against great odds (like going from gutter to suburbia), sees others rioting in ghettos or floundering on welfare. Such a person is apt to say, "Well, look at me; I made it. Why can't they? What's all the fuss about?" Well, it did take guts to get out of the ghetto — any ghetto — and some people had more going for them than others. It takes guts today to grow graciously out of adolescence.

In times past, most of the social order was designed to help ease the passage from childhood to adulthood. O'Neill's *Ah, Wilderness!* and Tarkington's *Penrod* are turn of the century reminders of adolescent agonies, though the patina of nostalgia makes it all seem so much simpler, more bearable. Even the adults of past generations seem less distant and unfeeling — from the perspective of the late 1960's.

In the autobiographies of almost all honest persons, the periods of youthful stress are recurrently reported. Yet persons eminent (or vain) enough to write and publish autobiographies all seem to have survived. And so have almost all of the older generation living today. Why then are so many of the today's youth breaking all the time-established rules of how to go from childhood, through adolescence, into adulthood?

Today's young people don't seem to know whether they can achieve adulthood, and they don't know if they want to.

The adulthood which surrounds them is not, one must admit, particularly admirable. It is an adult world which talks peace, and lives affluently on war, which talks chastity, and idolizes the sexual misdeeds of persons in the limelight of mass media and makes them millionaires; an adult world which makes college education seem absolutely essential, but which ridicules intellectual discussion on almost any topic; an adult world which pours millions into churches, but panics in an ugly fashion when Christianity moves next door (black, that is). And it is an adult world which invented (and dispenses) The Pill.

Bettelheim says that hypocrisy produces hippies.[1] If "hippies" are one source of our concern over the odd-appearing manifestations of the adolescent culture today, then what is the source of the hypocrisy that produces them and their brothers and sisters who seem to be so blatant about growing up differently? Is the source of this hypocrisy the conflicting messages of parents, church, school, the mass media? And where does this new "protesting" generation come from?

The hippies, or the "Flower Children," or those who participate in a "love-in" or those who run away from home to Greenwich Village or Haight-Ashbury, are from a strata of society supposedly protected from mass overt deviance. In the good old days, good children from good homes stayed home. Today, children from good homes (in terms of material well-being) are those who are fleeing. It is possible, as Bettelheim and others have suggested, that these young people have found out that there is something phoney where they live; what is preached is not practiced. Things are not as they appear.

Take the school, for example: Good grades in school do not mean one has learned. In fact, good grades are almost a guarantee that the student may have learned relatively little worth learning. The brighter the student, the sooner he may catch on to the emptiness of the system. Bright girls, as Coleman reported, learn not to get the best grades — if they want to get the best boys.[2]

School hypocrisy comes in many guises, grades being only one of them. My seventh-grade daughter is currently subscribing to a magazine (which I paid for — the teacher wanted everyone who could to subscribe). This magazine is purportedly written especially for young girls. I have read all the issues my daughter has received this year, and not once has a topic of serious controversial current concern been discussed. To read this magazine one would never know there was a war on, that there were riots, that race tension was troublesome, that drugs or premarital sex were problems for anyone. The topics which take up most of the text of the magazine have to do with dating behavior (how to keep the boy from "going too far," a term which is never defined), proper grooming, recipes, dress, an atrocious short story, and ads. The latter comprise what appears to be at least half of the total number of pages and are devoted to three main topics: skin and hair preparations, diamond rings and other paraphernalia connected with getting married (remember, my daughter is in seventh grade), and various female sanitary devices. Incidentally, the cooking section sometimes seems hard to identify as to whether it is a bona fide piece of journalism or is an ad for Betty Crocker and her companions. Here is well-subsidized hypocrisy: subsidized by parents who pay for it, the industry who pushes the products, and the teachers who push the kids. All this is an incredible combination in a magazine sold to the captive audience in the schools. Girls who discuss avidly among themselves the horror of "Bonnie and Clyde" are given coy chats about room decorating. All this should make the adults who are responsible ill. What is being fed these young women is going to make them socially ill, sooner or later. The fact that no one *notices*, not even the eminent board of the magazine, is what makes *me* ill.

If the rest of the world of the adolescent is as phoney as this magazine — his home, his church, the other aspects of school — then he may run away, either figuratively, by becoming one of the alienated youth so poignantly delineated by Keniston,[3] or he may literally run away from home. A recent issue of *Life* presented the despairing picture of such youngsters.[4] These young people, alienated in one way or another, and expressing it in various modes are well on the road Henry so aptly calls "pathways to madness."[5] Sadly, sooner or later most such young people do make a partial connection, they do come halfway home by establishing their own homes and producing children. But having lost their own inner centers along the way, it will be hard if not impossible for them to perceive their own children as real beings; and a new cycle of alienation is begun.

And finally, and most tragically, there is the ultimate running away: suicide. Among college students, suicide is second only to automobile accidents as a cause of death, and in the 15 to 19 age group, suicide is the third ranking cause of death, exceeded only by accident or cancer.[6]

So adolescents today are in trouble. And we as adults are troubled as we work with them. We must hear the calls for help, calls like the one expressed so poignantly in the note with which this article opens. Those who deal with the older adolescent, in college, or in their first years of teaching on the job, have another task.

The younger adolescent, for one thing, deserves a better school than he is getting. I am pessimistic about this prescription, because today's schools are run by yesterday's adults, and as a group they seem unwilling to change and thus unlikely to change enough or soon enough. The students, though, may force change — and so may dissident elements in the community who are beginning to see how short-changed their children's education is. The call for parent control of schools in New York City's Harlem is a vivid example. In one Washington, D.C., high school recently the students went on strike. Among their complaints were not only that the cafeteria food was bad, but that they had been in school for ten or eleven or even twelve years and still could not read or write decently. I wonder what the school administration did about it? Did it break open the out-moded egg-crate schedule of this typical high school? Did it institute block periods of time when students could get "caught up" with the skills they lacked? Did the contents of the curriculum change so that the things the students studied were those which had some relevance to their lives — for instance, how to get a slum landlord to fix one of his dwellings without evicting the tenants who complained? A whole course in civics can come out of starting with just such a "simple" problem! Even an English teacher can teach the Protest Movement![7]

Did this school, and many others like it which have been troubled by student unrest and disorder, seek ways of establishing honest communication with the students? As one observes high schools, one is often struck by the sad farce of student government. It is "government" by the school elite, for the elite, with minimal consent of the authorities, and given jurisdiction over such critical items as what should be the theme for the senior prom. As has been noted, some model prisons provide more freedom and more genuine self-government than do most junior or senior high schools. Treat young people as though you distrust them, and they become distrustful. Hall passes, hall monitors, locked lavatories, three minutes to pass from class to class — these are some of the outward symptoms of adult nervousness about the adolescents in their care. They must be accounted for at all times; they must not be allowed to mingle in a relaxed fashion at any time; rush, rush, rush. Overcrowded schools mean less space in halls, more pushing, shoving, more anger — and eventually explosion.

Other insults to both the teachers and students in the system are the invasions of classroom teaching time via peremptory announcements over loud speaker systems; bells to mark class changes which shock the nerves; track systems which label large groups as stupid, dumb, uneducable; marking systems which are based on an assumption that some must fail, and very few must be allowed to know they have "learned" at all. There is, obviously, something quite wrong.

Programed learning or individualized instruction, about which we talk a great deal, assumes that the essential learnings *will be learned* by all students. That is, all students will eventually get an "A" because all students will have "learned" the program. But:

> Grading is an *administrative* device to sort students according to differences. The more all the students have all the important learnings the tougher it is to grade them. So the exams do *not* focus on the important; instead they claim to "sample evenly" everything that was covered. . . . That kind of testing gives you good distribution for "spreading out the grades," but it obviously subverts the curriculum by saying that whatever is centrally important is useless on examinations that count.[8]

In other words, we don't mean it when we say we want all students to learn; we only want some to learn. Any teacher foolish enough to give all students passing grades, and fail none, will find himself soon called to task by his administrator. There are, in fact, quota systems in effect in many secondary schools; a certain percentage of students *have* to be failed. Sadly enough, the persons most apt to be victims of this system are boys, and Negro boys are the worst off of any group. Boys are less willing to do stupid tasks than girls, are more resistant to authority, and more in need of proving masculinity by overt means—all of which produces teacher punishment via refusal to teach for individual differences or by lowering of grades.

So we have student protests. And we will have more of them, and they will be more severe, and possibly increasingly based on more trivial events. In Negro areas, some administrators have been incensed because students demand Negro history, or even the teaching of Swahili. Some administrators have felt that they understood the genesis of these demands, and have acceded to them. Some have not.

The increased ugliness of the interracial tensions growing in our country has its counterpart in far too many schools. The open hostility of white students to "new" Negro enrollees is continually

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reported by observers and occasionally erupts into "news." The astounding response of Negro hostility openly expressed against whites has infuriated those in command—teachers, school boards, administrators. The passive Negro, who "knew his place," is responding to insult with injury.

Again, school programs to combat these outbreaks are weak and sporadic. Typically, an hour or so of an in-service day will be devoted to "prejudice" or "ways of combatting intergroup tensions," then back to business as usual. In one school I know well, there was, in the words of the young people, "almost a rumble," with the school ringed by police squad cars. It was known that the white principal had knocked down a Negro boy. It was known that racial tension was in part to blame. Not a single word was mentioned at any time by those in authority; if any teacher discussed the problem with his classes, few heard about it.

Debating whether to offer more or less Negro history should be open to reasonable discussion. Too often intransigent administrators or adamant students or parents enrage each other so much that no discourse is possible. Yet, given the temper of the times, it is only to be expected that he who has been demeaned for so many years will ask for—and deserve—a more accurate, more adequate, and, if need be, even a disproportionate amount of attention to even the score. But again, the slowness of schools to change, the resistance of school personnel to "outside" pressure, does not make me optimistic. The alternative is violence.

If observers are concerned about this kind of trouble taking place in our schools, then surely at some point along the way school people have to ask themselves what role they might play. Certainly they are not wholly to blame. It is easy indeed for secondary school personnel to wonder what the elementary schools have been doing all this time. What lessons in brotherhood and values have the children learned in their six or eight years of elementary school? I can assure you—very little.[9] In fact, reading the record of the President's Commission on Civil Disorder,[10] or the Civil Rights Commission report on *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools*,[11] one can only say, sadly, that educators have been reluctant, remiss, and irresponsible.

Most administrators (and most other adults) have had their major recent and most infuriating confrontations with high school adolescents over matters of dress.

> Sometimes the school decides to be meddlesome and insinuate its power into the lives of its students. Take dress regulations, for example. One might reasonably assume that the clothes a youth

> wears are a matter for himself, his parents, and, in cases of wrong committed, the law. Many times, though, the schools do not accept this and consider student attire very much their business. When asked why they intrude in this area, they insist that clothes are very important — almost, it seems, that they *do* make the man.
>
> Against this, consider that young people in the fullness of their vitality are also at their most beautiful. With them clothes can readily be an expression of their persons. That is, the clothes they wear can accentuate the beauty that is theirs. In so doing, clothes may also help to make them prideful, idiosyncratic, exciting, selfish, and sexy. Allowed expression, such attitudes can encourage trouble. The young people caught up in this excitement may churn about and become difficult to handle. In consequence, for practical reasons institutions regulate dress.
>
> What can be worn is defined, of course, by the tastes of the adult institutors. To support these standards they condemn the exotic as bad taste, discourage innovation, and point out how much better conservative dress is for everybody concerned. Bad taste here is the negation of the school-defined taste which, by definition, thereby becomes good taste. Good taste is the negation of the individualized taste of the student-person. Hence, bad taste is adolescent taste. The values are adjusted to fit the situation. What is young is bad, what is old is good, and the opportunity youth has lies in showing good taste. This, then, is the negation of negation.
>
> This is not simply a matter of playing on words, for that which is negated is adolescent vitality itself. Dress regulations implement the denigration of the spirit and joy of youth fulfilled. With the negation of negation the vital values have been replaced with values derived from fear. The morality of the dress regulations is essentially negative and defensive and is based on distrust.[12]

Most adolescents, however, appear on the surface to conform. The worst thing that first faces many beginning teachers is the apathy of their students. "But they won't respond to anything I do!" is something I have heard from many of my student-teachers and beginning teachers in secondary schools. Students want to know, "Will this be covered by the test? Will I be graded on this?" Again, symptoms of a system gone awry. The students for the most part are docile, they turn in their homework, occasionally they get excited about something, particularly those on the fringe who like to study stars, or read poetry, or become Eagle Scouts, or just have nothing else to do but study (the unpopular girl, the late maturing boy). After observing many classrooms, I and my colleagues are astounded at the tolerance of our youth; that they have accepted such boring lessons, such irrelevant lessons, such ineptly taught lessons, with such good grace and good manners.

The surprising thing is that they have not revolted earlier, and that so few revolt even today.[13]

Those who might revolt, of course, have been so abused by the system that many drop out or are pushed out. Most who remain in high school have seen the school for what it is, and know how to get the better of it. The smarter they are the more cynically aware are they of the emptiness of the system. The tragedy is that in the process they also become empty as human beings.

An English teacher in the fall of 1967 asked one of her senior classes to write their opinions as to the way in which their high school (in an above average socio-economic area sending over 80 per cent to colleges) had helped them grow as individuals. Some of the replies:

> No time is spent in classes for just thinking out of many things and obtaining of personal views. Views of staff, schools, are taken as "Gospel."
>
> The school limits free expression and discourages free thought. There is almost a cold war between a person who wants to distinguish between his own identity and the school as an institution. Conformity is demanded. Teachers impose their doctrines or beliefs on their students; they force students to accept established principles.
>
> The majority of the teachers are of the opinion that to be an individual is not as important as passing the course.
>
> The school, like an octopus, lies in wait for its yearly crop of victims as they swarm into view; eight tentacles reach out and grab them into the unescapable. One by one, each is pushed into the horny, curved beak. Some victims struggle, but most apathetically accept their convergence into a uniform mass. Without conscious effort, the octopus converts each victim from an individual into a part of the octopus itself.

Only one student out of 29 felt the school had helped her find herself as an individual. (It was a girl who felt the school did well by her.)

These perceptive students in some instances probably will join the ranks of "hippies," but *most* will go on to good and also prestige colleges, certainly disenchanted by school. Will they find college different?

But college isn't safe any more either. One of the most alarming phenomena taking up space for commentators on the current scene is the student protest movement, or revolt, or call it what you will.[14]

Why are the representatives of Dow Chemical Company or recruiters for the armed services harassed on many campuses?[15]

Why are leading statesmen embarrassed, booed, and heckled when they take time from world affairs to talk with students? And the way some of these students dress! Boys with long curly hair, often with beards (if they are old enough), girls barefoot, both wearing beads and/or other adornments which seem startling to the adult outsider. Though certain kinds of protest and the wearing of weird garb are usually seen together, the two should not be confused; a majority of adults tend to lump all protestors into one disagreeable heap of ill-kempt and ill-behaved young people.

The campus protest movement, as the research indicates, is one which surely should make one pause:

Protestors to the current "war" come from:
- the best campuses
- are among the best students
- favor spontaneity, love, authenticity
- stress individual conscience as against "law and order" obedience
- are from families with a humanistic rather than authoritarian orientation.[16]

In addition, these protestors, as Smith and his research associates report, are in reality not alienated from society or their families; they are in fact protesting just those aspects of the society which their families raised them to be intolerant of![17]

The protest which seriously challenges school authorities on many campuses may take many forms, some of them lurid and others more covert. The young men and women on the campuses today are all affected by the current Vietnam "war." Because of the mass nature of the institution, students can find like-minded colleagues who do not want to go to war, particularly not the present one. Out-of-school youth, because he is more or less diluted by the larger mass of adult society, finds it harder to join forces with others to protest; therefore one often finds many nonstudents drifting to the edges of campuses to find those who are of a like mind.

Another type of protest is student insistence on being heard in university or college affairs. The students have invaded quite a few administration buildings. In some instances, they have brought the whole institution to a halt by asking for more participation in the government and policy-making powers of the university, or in just being *heard!*

These protests, like that of high school dropouts, reflect a desire for relevance. The requirement in Zoology 1, or Sociology 5, or archaic regulations that force art majors to pass an excruciatingly irrelevant college mathematics course (or vice versa), is just not being accepted by students as reasonable any more. Dull professors providing stale-sounding material (even if not outdated in their own fields), wielding arbitrary and capricious (but powerful) authority (via the grade), are also targets for student protest. And deservedly.

The *in loco parentis* role of the resident college is a focus, too, for student indignation. Many young women report, "I had more freedom at home than I have at State U!" And this is true. The university or college is so fearful of attacks from parents, regents, trustees, state legislators, potential donors, or just professional meddlers that they surround students, particularly girls, with rules and regulations which would be laughable if they were not imposed with deadly and final seriousness. One minute late into the dorm, after posted hours, and a girl might be ousted permanently, particularly if she did it more than once or twice. Is this what college is for?

The girls and the boys, however, know that anything they want to do they can do before the legal dorm closing time, so what's the fuss? With the help of The Pill, the girls and boys who know the impotence of the system and don't care enough (or have conscience enough) to revolt do just as they please and the girl is never late getting to the "protection" of the dorm. It is those with a conscience who get into trouble; they ask, "Why?" Agonizing indeed are the debates by some of the medical consultants on campuses as to the propriety of issuing prescriptions for The Pill. Is it a medical or an ethical question? Is it a problem that is personal, or in the proper domain of college authority? It is around these unresolved issues that student protest movements are often rooted.

The phenomenon of the "Free University"—courses set up by students, taught by regular or irregular instructors, for no credit—are also symptoms of the college protest. "We want to learn!" should be the not too subtle message of these kinds of "free" courses. Only a few institutions have been brave enough to hear what such a phenomenon suggests, and flexible enough to incorporate such courses into their regular programs.

Other students have taken even more positive action: the trek to Mississippi of hundreds of college students was astounding several years ago to many observers.[18] A more quiet trek is to be noted among many colleges; students who freely give hours to tutoring and other volunteer work with "inner-city" persons or other people in culturally depressed areas such as mental hospitals. Again, the students are asking for more meaning to their collegiate days than the following of the team or trying out for cheerleading. Of the most interest is that these programs have often been student organized and student dominated; the authorities evidently don't care if the students are "doing good," and they rarely reach out to provide active support (like money) and other kinds of assistance. But let students get active enough to picket somebody about something, no matter what, then administrative forces are mobilized to keep things quiet, hush the students up, discipline them, even suspend them.

Then, finally, we have the adolescent or young adult protestor who has all the trappings of the "hippie" culture: psychedelic adornments, "love" beads, bizarre dress, ear-splitting music in the popular youth hangouts, the experiments with hallucinogens, the smoking of marijuana. Yes, agreed, these are symptoms which can be near enough the edge of madness to frighten parents, college authorities, and other adults. For a *few* young people the behavior *is* symptomatic of a deeper psychic illness. And yet, the random shooting of a number of students from the tower at the University of Texas was committed by a sad young man who was a model in appearance. Outward signs in terms of dress and other elements of taste are little indication of inner states. But whose business is it? Should the college intervene or, as in the case of the unfortunate raid at Stony Brook of the University of New York, allow themselves to be the dupes of local police and media specialists who are alerted to a good story? Even professors who wear beards (if they are under 50) are thought to be possible captives of the student side of the perennial battle of faculty vs. students.[19]

Is it possible that some of these protestors in various guises might become teachers? I would like to reassure elementary principals that there is little likelihood of this. For the most part, education students tend to be more docile, less apt to resist authority, and more compliant, than their classmates; they are also not as smart. In elementary education, too, most are girls, and the protest of girls is more covert and also less frequent. So most of the young teachers you will get will have been "good" students in their college years, untainted by the movements of protest and revolt. This, sadly enough, is perhaps the reason why we are going to find generations yet to come finding ever more ingenious ways to rebel: those who teach them are unaware of or resistant to the very elements which have produced student protest, dissidence, alienation. As teachers, these young people cannot understand how to make education relevant, valuable, in touch with life.

It is possible, though not highly probable, that educators will make some strenuous efforts to get back in touch with the younger generation. The symptoms of student protest, with which I have dealt in these pages, are many of them by-products of educational procedures. While fed by other conflicting elements in society, it must be candidly admitted that the schools are not in touch with contemporary social needs. Schools reflect only too often the provincialism, the prejudices, the paternalism of a world that can no longer tolerate such restricting modes.[20]

John Goodlad pointedly states that the educational question is no longer "What knowledge is of the most worth?" but "What kinds of human beings do we wish to produce?"[21] There is an inevitable means-end relationship that must be acknowledged: good people cannot emerge from bad homes, bad environments, or bad schools.

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Order or Chaos in Our Schools

Whitney M. Young, Jr.

NOT SO long ago a group of miners were entombed in one of the Kimberley diamond mines in South Africa. Surrounded by unlimited riches, they slowly met death. Since the miners were starving for food, thirsting for water, and in need of spiritual comfort, the diamonds were worthless. And so it is in our society today. We are obviously skilled in the art of making war; we are unskilled in the art of making peace. We are proficient in the art of killing; we are ignorant in the art of living. We probe and grasp the mysteries of atomic fission; we reject all too often the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule. Somehow in our scheme of things there must be developed some appreciation for those broad human values that transcend things, or else we shall find ourselves entombed to our death in our own diamond mine of materialism.

Only the most hopeless and naive optimists among us today would fail to acknowledge the fact that we as a nation are in serious trouble. For here we stand with an unprecedented affluence, a gross national product close to one trillion dollars, almost 40 percent that of the world's gross national product, surrounded by the greatest convenience and technology ever known to man, and yet we find ourselves trembling and frightened, frustrated and confused about the demonstrations that confront most of our institutions and will confront all unless there is change. We find ourselves in conflict: race against race, young against old, urban against rural. We find ourselves in a situation where many are afraid to walk on the streets; they are afraid of their neighbors, and people pride themselves on being uninvolved.

At a time when this country with its great know-how and affluence should be the moral leader of the world, we find ourselves in fact victims of very serious and often quite acrid indictments. Twenty percent of our people live in poverty and in squalor in spite of our unprecedented wealth. We spend less of our national taxes on health, education, and welfare than any other country in the world. We are around number seven in terms of the percentage of our income that we give to the underde-

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veloped countries in the world; and certainly I don't need to tell those of you in education the relative difference between what we spend for weapons of destruction and what we spend for education in our society.

The reason that we need to be seriously concerned is . . . because much of the indictments that come to us are accurate. The suppressed, the people in our society, in many cases black, certainly in disproportionate numbers, are for the first time totally aware of the difference in their status of life and the status of the majority of Americans. They are not only aware of that status, but for the first time they are fully aware that this status is not God-made but man-made; that they are not the victims of congenital inferiority, but they are the victims of a historically callous and indifferent society. They are also fully aware of how other groups throughout history who found themselves similarly oppressed have used methods to change that oppression, ranging all the way from the violence and the American Revolution, the civil disobedience and the Boston Tea Party, the demonstrations and the violence and the woman suffrage movement in our society, the sit-ins, the picketing, the boycotts, and the vicious violence that went into the labor movement.

But the thing that should concern us even more is that not only are the oppressed aware of this situation but they have been joined by a new ally, namely, young people. And here I do not refer solely to the hippies and the yippies, but I refer to the majority of young people in our society who, I believe, are deeply committed to racial justice and who have a deep compassion for peace and for human beings. There are those who would like to feel that this phenomenon of concern is a passing fad and that young people have traditionally been liberal in their teens and conservative in their later years—if not reactionary. I can assure you that this is different from the fad of swallowing goldfish, or panty raids, or crowding into telephone booths, like members of my younger generation did. This is a continuing thing because for the first time we have a generation of young people who, for the most part, have had things and take things for granted. They will not be seduced and co-opted by stock options or by promises of economic security. These young people take all these things for granted. They will continue not only to challenge their parents and the educational institutions but the churches, the health and welfare institutions, and the government itself. We might as well be prepared to anticipate it and be prepared to try to meet it.

I would like to suggest that education has a major role along with religion. For the most part we have the laws that are neces-

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sary in our society to bring about human justice. We have the civil rights law; we have most of the court decisions; we have the nice, beautiful policy statements. The problem is not so much an act of legislation at this point as it is an affair of the heart. It's a problem of attitudes, and I know of no group of persons who have a greater challenge and a greater responsibility to change attitudes in America than do the educators and the religious leaders of our time. Whether you like it or not you are becoming the scapegoats. As far as other institutions are concerned, the businessmen that I talk to constantly point to the shortcomings of education as being responsible for the weaknesses in our society. I think the time has come when education ought to say: "All right, if we are the people who are responsible for the future leadership of this country and for all of the things that you think and say that we are responsible for, we will assume that responsibility, but you must give us the resources with which to do it." What we need are more schools and better support for schools, and it makes no difference whether they are private or public or parochial or what have you. We need to support education in this country.

The reason we are in serious trouble is that America has lived a lie. America wrote a Constitution in which it guaranteed freedom and equality for all of its citizens. It then adopted a Judaeo-Christian ethic which talked about inherent dignity and worth of the human being and then proceeded to exclude black people. I was in Williamsburg, Virginia, not too long ago and I saw in a motel lobby a picture of Thomas Jefferson writing the Declaration of Independence, and he was just about to finish that line: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal." The interesting thing was that there at that very moment was a slave that he owned who was fanning him, and I'm sure Jefferson saw no inconsistency because the way that the society had achieved this was to ignore the fact that the Negro existed as a human being. For 250 years he was a piece of chattel, and then for another 100 years society rationalized itself into saying that black people were basically inferior. This is the reason that your textbooks hardly mention a black person in history, unless it's somebody like Booker T. Washington or George Washington Carver. The textbooks could not have mentioned people like Nat Turner or Denmark Vesey or Frederick Douglass. They could not have talked about black people who have made great contributions in history, people who have in fact discovered the process for refining steel, people who have discovered the first clock, discovered the process for blood plasma, people who have been great writers and great artists. They could not talk about these people because to have done so would have been to have made a lie out of the fact that the black man was inferior and so deserved an inferior status.

Education in fact failed to prepare people to live in a democratic society. Our educational institutions, like most American institutions, have for the most part been concerned with perpetuating what is and for serving those people who were useful to the system. They have not been structured to prepare people to grow out of poverty, to rehabilitate themselves. They have not been prepared to educate poor, white people from Appalachia, the American Indian, the Mexican American, or the black American. And so while education deserves to be indicted, it is also to the credit of education that today we have a revolution at all. Because it was in the books that black people learned what in fact the Declaration of Independence was all about and proceeded to engage in a revolt. That's not unusual for our history.

I would like to talk a little bit about what I think the great challenge of education is. First of all let me implore you, as educators, not to lose sympathy and not to cop out. This is a period today when people who are faint-hearted and who are looking for reasons to become disenchanted and disillusioned with the civil rights movement can find plenty of opportunities to do so. The handful of black people who engage in excesses and in riots are well publicized, and it's a wonderful excuse that people can avail themselves of if they want to, in fact, cop out.

I spoke to the Home Builders Association not too long ago and when I finished a man stood up during the question period and admitted that he had lost sympathy. As he put it, he had been a great liberal and somebody who loved my people very much. But due to the riots and the shouts of black power he had lost sympathy. I told him I did not want to debate or to argue with him the logic of his indicting a whole group because of the excesses of a few but that I would like to find out the extent of our loss now that we had lost his sympathy.

So I took out a piece of paper and a pencil and I said: "Now, Sir, will you tell me, before you lost sympathy, how many integrated subdivisions did you build? How many black people did you employ and at what level? How many black people have you helped get into your neighborhood, into your schools, into your country club, or into that most sacred of all segregated institutions, your church?" And he said, "Well, ah, well, ah, I haven't done any of these things." I asked him to say it slowly because I wanted to document for posterity the extent of our loss now that we had lost his sympathy. I pointed out, when he said that he had done none of those things when he loved my people so much, that nothing from nothing leaves nothing. And did it ever occur to him that if he had been doing all of those things when he loved my people so much we might not have had the riots and the shouts of black power? My point is a rather simple one. For those who stand back today and become irritated and express great resentment and loss of sympathy about some of the disturbances in our society, I would say that you forfeit that right unless you can document with great accuracy all the things you were doing, not as missionaries but as peers, to make sure that black people enjoyed the same kind of life as other human beings.

One of our great problems today is the tendency to generalize. When I was in Vietnam a couple of years ago, General Westmoreland (and he is from South Carolina, which shows you that I don't generalize) said to me: "You know, Mr. Young, over here I found that geniuses and idiots come in all colors. And the cowards and heroes come in all colors, and nobody gets exercised about open occupancy in a foxhole."

But you know how many times people simply say black people "this" or "them" and "those" and "we" and "us" and use these terms that tend to label or stigmatize a total group. The white community has a rather unique and cute way of disassociating its crackpots from the usual run of white kids. When white kids engage in what I might call mildly antisocial behavior, they call them hippies. They don't call them white kids. They call them yippies. When I was in Palm Springs recently, there was an invasion of some 20,000 hippies and yippies. It terribly upset these staid and wealthy old residents of Palm Springs who had been accustomed to a much more sedate and certainly a socially correct kind of behavior. But never once in the whole week did I hear any of these kids who were in various states of undress, who were smoking marihuana, who were engaged in all types of love-ins and nude-ins—never once did I hear a single white person refer to them as white youngsters. Out of the 20,000 there were about eight black youngsters, and they were always called the "black youngsters." But the white youngsters were called hippies and yippies to disassociate them. And the minute, I'm sure, that they would shave and take a bath and cut their hair and put on a suit, they would still be called white youngsters. It's good to remember that the most dedicated revolutionists in this country are not black people.

The reason the Detroit riot was by far the most destructive is because it was our most integrated riot. White people have had longer experience with violence and once they get involved in a riot then it is really a destructive thing. There are white people today who comfort themselves by saying: "We made it. Why can't they?" And I know of no greater lie that you can put to rest than that one.

White people didn't just make it on their own. When they came to this country as earlier immigrants they were first of all voluntary immigrants unlike black people. Second, the nature of the work was such that all you needed was a strong back and a willing mind. You didn't have the highly technological and industrial society that you have today, which requires a janitor to have a high school education. Third, when white people came to the country, if they chose to move to barren and unreconstructed land they were given 40 acres and a mule. And then they were given farm agents, free of cost, to teach them how to farm. And they were given low interest rates to buy machinery they needed. And now they are being given money not to grow anything at all.

Or when they first came to this country and they made a little money and learned the language and learned how to take baths, they could move out from the ghetto section of the city in which they lived. And they are the ones who really destroyed the property before black people moved in. They could move out and if they had trouble because their names might identify their nationalities, they could do what our last two vice presidential candidates, Senator Muskie and Governor Agnew, did—change their names. And that's what they did. Or if they needed a little operation in order to change some feature of their face they could do this. Black people didn't have this kind of choice of losing their identity. We tried a salve called "black no more" and it didn't work, and that's why we decided to make black beautiful a long time ago. But black people were told you cannot move out of the ghetto. So places like Grosse Pointe outside of Detroit will accept any white prostitute and pimp, but it would not accept a Ralph Bunche. Cicero would accept Al Capone, but it wouldn't let a Thurgood Marshall move in. In New York City, you cannot live in Bronxville if you're black, and hardly if you're Jewish. I'm not talking about the Deep South. I'm saying to you that education and style and culture have nothing to do with the fact that a man is black—he is simply ignored and excluded. Somehow you have to put to rest these stories; you have to challenge people when they make statements about black people. You have to say "What black people?"

On the plane a few weeks ago, a white couple sat across the aisle from me. After they had had a couple of martinis, the wife went to sleep and the husband leaned over and said to me: "Pardon me, Mr. Young, I hate to disturb you but I can't let this opportunity pass. My wife and I are great liberals and we love your people very much." (I always get a little worried now when I hear this approach.) "But we have a real problem. We would like to invite into our home, socially, a colored couple." He took another sip of the martini, and he got more magnanimous and said, "Maybe two or three colored couples, but my wife doesn't feel comfortable around colored people. What can I do about it? I hope you won't be offended that I raise the question."

I quickly assured him that I was not at all offended, that I understood that this was not unusual in any way, that most people felt uncomfortable and awed if not inferior around Ralph Bunche. I told him that I could understand why his wife (who didn't appear to be the brightest person) would feel somewhat uncomfortable around a man who has his Phi Beta Kappa, his Ph.D., a Nobel Peace Prize, and who is world traveled and sophisticated. I could understand that his wife would feel that she might ask a stupid question, or give an elementary response, and I told him not to feel bad about this—that this was a perfectly normal kind of reaction. I said I was delighted he had come to someone from the Urban League because I thought we could recruit for him some colored people that his wife might feel more comfortable around.

It's precisely this kind of generalization that occurs when people talk about black power. They speak of it as if it's a new phenomenon. The only thing new about it is the use of the term "power" and the phrase. Actually, every other ethnic group throughout the history of this country—whether they were Irish or Catholic or Italian or Jewish or what have you—at a given moment got together and mobilized their economic and political strength to reward their friends and punish their enemies. They asserted their pride and their roots and their dignity. They didn't make the mistake, however, of shouting Jewish power, Italian power, or Irish power. The Irish just kept their mouths shut and took over the police departments of New York City and Chicago. And they didn't always start out with what I would call perfectly simon-pure leadership. I would remind you that when the Irish took over Boston they didn't take over with a John Kennedy; they took over with a Curley, who would make Adam Powell look like the epitome of political morality.

People have short memories in this country. You would assume that the presence of demagogues was something new with the admission into the society of a Rap Brown. Rap Brown did not enslave black people. Stokely Carmichael did not put black people in the ghettos and deny them jobs and decent housing. When people come up to me and say, "Oh, your people are going to suffer because of Adam Powell's escapades," I shudder because no other group has been asked that all of its people conduct themselves perfectly in order for individuals to be accepted. I insist that if you believe in equality, the black people have as much right to have their crackpots as the white people. There's no reason why white people should have a monopoly on extremists.

If white America, with all of its advantages and with all of its great opportunities throughout history, still produces groups like the Ku Klux Klan, the Minute Men, the White Citizens' Council, and the John Birch Society, and any other number of rightist groups, then certainly black people, with all of their suppression, ought to be understood if they turn out a few groups who act excessively. At least our hate groups have not lynched people; we have not bombed little children in churches; we have not suppressed a whole group. And I mention this to you in order that you may speak to other people when they begin to generalize. Ask them: "What black man are you talking about?" Because I insist that white and black people oftentimes have more in common between each other than they do within the group itself.

Let me ask you first of all to acknowledge the shortcomings of the past, to admit the failures, to admit what the Kerner Commission has already spelled out—that racism exists in this society.

Now I know that most Americans spend all of their time apologizing and defending and denying that racism exists, and no time at all—including the federal government and America's leaders—in addressing themselves to the recommendations of the Kerner Commission. The Kerner Commission was made up of a predominantly conservative group of men. Nine of the 11 were white. They were not starry-eyed, long-haired fanatics and liberals. These were not bleeding-heart compassionate souls. These were businessmen, Southerners, senators, and police chiefs. But after they looked into the thing they came out with a conclusion that this was a basic problem in our society. Now most white people denied it because most white people didn't understand what racism really meant. They thought racism was the desire to go out and lynch a black man. They thought that it was the indulging in vulgar epithets. This is not racism. Racism is much more subtle and therefore much more devastating. It consists of the day-to-day indignities, the thousand little things that people do to another human being, like calling a maid, a 45-year-old woman, by her first name.

We had such an experience not so many years ago when we finally got enough money to hire a lady in our home. My wife interviewed her. She introduced herself as Lucille. And my wife said, "What is your last name?" And she said, "Fisher," looking a little quizzical. And so they talked and decided they could stand each other, and the maid decided to go to work that very day.

That afternoon when my two youngsters came home from school, Mrs. Fisher met them at the door and introduced herself to them as Lucille. And my wife said, "Marsha and Lauren, this is Mrs. Fisher." Mrs. Fisher went back into the kitchen with my wife and said, "Mrs. Young, you don't need to do that. I sort of like to be called by my first name. It makes me feel like a member of the family. I just sort of think it establishes better relationships with the youngsters. After all, all the white folks have called me that so I guess I'm kind of used to it."

And my wife said, "Mrs. Fisher, as much as we respect you, we're not doing this solely for you. We're doing this because we're trying to bring up our children to respect all human beings, and we don't permit our children at the ages of six and ten to call a 45-year-old woman by her first name. My children do not call Daddy's boss's wife by her first name. If they feel they can call you this, then they see something different because of the nature of the work. So if you don't mind, because we are trying to raise our children this way, please go along." Mrs. Fisher said, "All right, I understand."

A few minutes later the telephone rang and it was obviously her little boy. My wife answered and the boy said, "Is Lucille there?" My wife said, "No, there is no Lucille here." Then she hung up.

She told Mrs. Fisher that she thought that was her son and to call him back.

The telephone conversation went like this:

"Did you call, son?" And he said, "Yes, Mama, but she said there wasn't no Lucille there."

And Mrs. Fisher said, "No, son, there isn't. Here I am somebody. I am Mrs. Fisher. Call me Mother." Now I can't describe to you the tone of voice, the pride that came into this voice, the fact that this woman threw her shoulders back and stood at least two or three inches taller, that she was now somebody.

Now I don't tell this story so that people can go home and call a family conference and bring about a complete disruption of all relationships. I tell it because I think it points up how easily and unconsciously we have slipped into the kind of racism that we don't even recognize and that it has so pervaded our whole society that one is unconscious of the sickness. But we aren't going to do anything about it until we acknowledge it, because don't forget that until 1964 a black man could be denied entrance into a hotel or restaurant simply because he was black. So we, as Americans, have either been racists in what we did or what we permitted to be done to other human beings. There's no way you can justify that kind of exclusion of human beings, unless in fact you were saying that they were inferior. And that's what racism is. It is the presumption of superiority with all the arrogance that goes along with it. Now if you take that first step, then let's take the second step, and that is: What do we do about it, particularly in our school system? How do we change attitudes?

I think we do it by realizing that oftentimes people have a need to feel superior to somebody else. I think that we face in America today a large number of people who because of the unprecedented affluence of the country, and because of strong labor unions, have acquired middle-class economic status, but they are not undergirded with the aesthetic, cultural, and educational experiences that normally go into making one a middle-class human being. These are what I call the affluent peasants in our society. And they are a dangerous group of people. You ignore them at your plight because their first line of attack happens to be black people. But like the Ku Klux Klan, the next line of attack would be Jews and then Catholics.

They will tell you what you ought to teach in your schoolrooms. They will tell you that the United Nations ought not to be in the United States. They will say, "Take away all federal aid, social security, and everything else." These are the people who sit in their little, bland, sterile, antiseptic, gilded ghettos, and who wouldn't know Karl Marx from Groucho's brother. They are looking for easy answers to complex matters, they are basically insecure, and they are raising a group of children in this little sterile atmosphere who will be ill prepared for the kind of world in which they are going to live.

You've got to do something about these people. You've got to educate them. They're not inviting me to speak before the local Klan meeting in Cicero, Illinois. You are the ones who are going to have to go in there. When white America says, "What can I do?" well, we want you to do more today than offer to come into the ghetto and tutor black kids. The Kerner Commission said the basic problem was with White America. Somebody is going to have to tutor White America. And it is going to have to be white people who are going to have to do it. It won't be easy, but it isn't for us either to go into the black ghettos and tell angry black kids that all white people are not evil and bad. It isn't easy for us to walk into the ghettos and tell people to keep the faith, and not to give up on the system when they have much justification for hate. You cannot ask us to do this unless you are willing yourself to walk into cesspools of bigotry and racism. And that won't be easy, but it's a part of the challenge of the educational system.

This is not to say that I don't want white teachers in our black communities. I think there are too many people who are again using the cry of separatism as a way of copping out. You have to be able to distinguish the rhetoric of a revolution from the relevance. And a great deal of the rhetoric is nothing but that; it is rhetoric, and a lot of it is symbolic. It has nothing to do with substance. The Urban League has some 12 or 13 street academies in New York City. They are storefront schools that we have established to bring back in the dropouts, the pushouts from the public school system.

I think the public school system needs a competitor. The public school system has failed black people. There is no question about it. In New York City, youngsters in the black community get to the 12th grade and they are from two to four years behind on achievement scores. Three to 4 to 5 percent are able to go on to college, in comparison to about 60 percent from other schools.

Well, we set up these street academies to embarrass, if you will, the public school system. We took these dropouts—some were drug addicts—and we trained them. We sent them on to a Harlem prep school. We set up our own private prep school, too. And of the 70 graduates from the Harlem school last year, all 70 are in college. These were the people that the public school system had said were uneducable. But the reason that they became educated was because we selected teachers who had heart as well as head and who saw the strengths in these youngsters. And they weren't all black. I went into one of these schools last year, and I was talking to one of the youngsters who was mouthing all of the rhetoric about black power: We need all black businesses and all black teachers and all black schools. I said, "How can you say this? I just saw you talking to that teacher, and there was obvious affection and respect between the two of you." He said, "Oh, her, Mr. Young. She ain't white—she's nice."

Color to a youngster in the ghetto often is a description of behavior, not a description really of color at all. To a black youngster in the ghetto oftentimes practically all of his experiences with white people are bad. White is the landlord who won't fix the pipes and the toilet and who's banging on the door for his rent that is 50 percent more than the people ought to pay. It's the merchant who sold him a piece of bad meat that his mother makes him take back, and the merchant won't do it and he gets a spanking. Or it may be a police officer who puts him up against a wall and frisks him. And when a white person comes along with whom he has a positive experience, that person isn't white—that person is nice.

If you are nice, if you truly care about people, and particularly black people, if you convey this, youngsters have a radar. They can pick it up better than anybody else. Even before you open your mouth they can tell whether you care about them. And if you indicate that you care and you're willing to work with black people, even work under the supervision of black people—now I know that's sort of revolutionary—but if you're willing to do that, there is a place in the black community for you. We do not have enough teachers to go around and certainly not enough qualified teachers. And the Urban League does not believe that all black people are virtuous and all white people are full of vice. Vice and virtue come in all colors. And we are prepared at this point to invite constantly into the black community those white people who have the kind of heart that I'm talking about. We don't need the others. We don't need the missionaries. We don't need the people who are coming with a patronizing, condescending air. We need people who can look at us and our families and say: "While you may not have a great deal in terms of money or a great deal in terms of technological know-how or you may not have some of the style of the majority's culture, you have something we need." And this is my concept of integration.

We have spent too much time in this country talking about the pathologies of black people. And I hope that we are through with all studies. I don't want to be anti-intellectual in the presence of educators, but as far as I am concerned I want to call a moratorium right now on all studies of black people. They've been analyzed and inspected and diagnosed horizontally and vertically and every other way. And I appreciate it very much, but now that we know all the pathologies and the problems, what we need now if we have to do studies—and I don't want to put the researchers out of work—are studies on the white community. I want a study on the souls of white people, the pathology of a white congressman. I want to know what it is that makes people want to let their children grow up in [the] kinds of neighborhoods that I described [in] a world that is 75 percent nonwhite when you're 15 minutes from Cape Kennedy to Africa in a spaceship. What gets into a man's head that makes him say: "I don't want anybody around me except people who look like me, whose backgrounds are the same." This compounds mediocrity and nothing creative comes out of it.

I think that studies of white people might help the unemployment problem of black people, because since white people have made so much money studying black people maybe we can make some money studying white people. I would take, for example, unemployed former domestic workers and use them to study white people in the suburbs—white housewives. I don't know anybody that knows more about a white housewife than her former domestic worker. They know them very well because that woman has probably shared more secrets with that black domestic worker than with anybody else because she thinks she is out of the main social circle. She has to talk to somebody, and so the domestic worker bears all the secrets about her sneaking a drink during the day and going out to play the numbers, carrying on an affair, having an abortion, whatever took place. And so I would use them as a part of my research team.

In studying Congress (and I'm concerned about the pathology of Congress), here we are today spending 50 percent, 60 percent, 70 percent of our budget on weapons of defense. And why? It's because our ideology is not sufficiently practiced at home so that we're able to sell the rest of the world on our ideology. And so we have to fight our own battles.

There wasn't a single Russian soldier lost in Korea. There hasn't been a single Chinese soldier lost in Vietnam. They imbued the people there with an ideology so they will fight their battle for them. In America, we haven't practiced enough of what we preach so that people believe us. So what's the alternative? We have to spend billions of dollars and let our own people be killed in trying to perpetuate an ideology. We talk about an antiballistic missile. I mean how far do we go? Are we going to build an underground American society? If that's our defense—more weapons and more nets—then we as a country are in serious trouble. I insist that our greatest defense will be an American democracy that works, that the whole world will be able to see that the color of a man's skin makes no difference. And the black man in America has become the barometer of the validity of our system.

The Urban League has been calling for a domestic Marshall plan. What do we get? A domestic missile plan. We're talking about building nets to catch little hungry babies. We're talking about building nets to catch alienated unemployed fathers who try to be men. We're talking about nets to catch some decent housing and get rid of the slums and rebuild the Harlems of this country as we rebuilt West Germany after the war. And what do we get? We're told: "No, you have to wait some more." We've been told the last few years that we have to wait until after Vietnam. Now we're told we have to wait until after the antiballistic missile. How long can people wait? What group of people in this world would be as patient and as loyal and as faithful as the American black man? At what point do we say to this citizen: You have been here 350 years and you've given your blood, sweat, and tears to the building of this country. For 250 years you gave this land free labor when it needed it. Another 100 years of cheap labor." At what point do Americans stand up and say we're sick and tired of living a lie? When we do this we won't have to spend billions of dollars and American lives in foreign lands because then the American ideology will be worth fighting for. Now this is a challenge for the educators in our society.

Let your suppressed, your denied youngsters hear about you in convention at Detroit taking positions on legislation, on the antiballistic missile if you will, taking positions on rent supplements and model cities, asking the federal government to please give the appropriation. We've got the legislation, but it's completely sabotaged by the failure to appropriate money. The poverty program is supposed to be at eight billion now, and it's hardly two. Rent supplements are around ten million, and it ought to be at least one billion. The Model Cities program ought to be five times what it is. We have the law but not the money.

And what about your youngsters, if they are to believe you are for real? You know they know now that teachers can revolt. I mean nobody can say that we can't do that now because of our professional status or because we've got certain restrictions due to our religion. We've seen revolts among all people now. Youngsters would like to see you dissent also and to revolt for some of these things. Not just teachers marching for higher salaries for themselves but marching for more decent homes for those kids because unless that kid grows up in an environment where he gets a hot meal, he's got a room to sleep in—it's difficult to get to him and you know it's a part of education. Now if you won't do this, who will? Who knows better what deprivation means than educators and religious leaders? Who knows better what it means to be nameless and faceless, to be ignored? You know it's better to be a victim of an anger unrestrained and a wrath which knows no bounds than to be treated as if one does not even exist. And you know what that means and you're the ones who have to speak out. Why do the businessmen have to lead us toward social justice? Why do the sports and the entertainment worlds have to be ahead of the churches? Why do houses of prostitution have to be more integrated than the average church in this country?

You will get more money as you stand up and take a position and say our schools are not going to be havens for bigots. And there are people who use them just for this—you can't let that happen.

Victor Frankl happens to be one of the proponents of a new school of psychoanalytical thought. He says that the problem in our American society today is not so much what is being diagnosed as with the psychiatrists—that the tensions are not really the things you can call paranoid and manic depressive. He says that the problem in our society today is a search for meaning in life. Not just who am I, but who could I be? Not just what am I doing, but what could I be doing? And this is what you have to help to identify: meaning in life, getting people involved in something that transcends themselves. And you have to do it by example. You can't do it by exhortation. You do it by them seeing you. You don't teach social justice in a classroom and then live a life that's completely contradictory. You are the best teacher by the kind of example you set. And in the process, you not only teach people to live in a democratic society but I would hope that you are better able to live with yourself. Let me close with a quote from Gordon Parks' latest book:

> What I want and what I am, what you force me to be, is what you are. For I am you staring back from a mirror of poverty and despair, a revolt in freedom. Look at me and know that to destroy me is to destroy yourself. You are weary of long hot summers. I am tired of the long hungry winters. We're not so far apart as it may seem. There's something about both of us that goes deeper than blood or black and white. It is our common search for a better life, a better world. I march now over the same ground you once marched. I fight for the same things you still fight for. My children's needs are the same as your children's. I, too, am America. America is me. It gave me the only life I know. So I must share in its survival. Look at me. Listen to me. Try to understand my struggles against your racism. There's yet a chance for us to live in peace beneath these restless skies.

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Middle Class Values

Edwin A. Roberts, Jr.,
and Thomas Bradford Roberts

THE MIDDLE class is today under attack in America as it hasn't been in years, if ever. The assault force is a kind of international brigade composed of dissenting students, black revolutionaries, inventive bohemians, liberal extremists, and a fair complement of writers and scholars. The attackers don't have identical goals, but they are of one mind about the central objective — the elimination of the country's mores, the denigration and destruction of what are generally referred to as middle-class values.

When we speak of middle-class values, we are not really speaking about values associated with a particular income level. The values under attack today derive from the Protestant ethic. The foundations for American society were not laid down by diverse cultures. The melting pot would come later. The foundations were framed and poured by Protestant Englishmen who believed in the inherent rightness and efficiency of self-discipline, hard work, thrift, and the sanctity of contracts.

The values can be followed back much further, of course. Since the dawn of civilization, men have found that no community can survive without general adherence to certain standards of behavior. Sometimes these standards were written as laws. Sometimes they took the form of customs, and customs are hardly less effective than laws in regulating behavior.

Specifically, the middle class values hard work because hard work produces a higher standard of living. Middle-class men may admire the commuter train little more than the hippies do, but it is the commuter train that permits men to get to work that provides their families with homes, gardens, and play areas. However dreary one may think the commuter's routine, it makes possible countless other life satisfactions. That millions of middle-class people live culturally narrow lives does not diminish their contribution to the economy.

Nor can reasonable critics put this down as a phony value. An artist's brush, a bohemian's guitar, a poet's paper, a hippie's

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amulet—every artifact costs money. The economy pays the bills for everything.

The mistake bohemians make is inferring that life styles must be adopted on an either-or basis. Because their parents might have failed to take advantage of life's spiritual graces, they conclude that only by withdrawing from society can they experience the great intellectual and emotional joys available to almost everybody. What they eventually discover is that a sure way to miss happiness is to take dead aim at it. I am sure the hippies will find this to be the case with drugs and casual sex.

This brings up the middle-class value of marriage and sexual discipline. The function of the marital state in society is obvious. Marriage permits the orderly rearing of children. It helps hold society together. Sex in marriage not only satisfies a fundamental human appetite, it also cements the relationship between a man and a woman so that they have an incomparable reason for continuing to live together and care for their young.

Many young people today are experimenting with alternative arrangements. Some are aggressively seeking sexual experience at every opportunity. Some young people are simply playing house without benefit of matrimony. This arrangement is generally convenient for the man and futile for the girl. As a practical matter, a woman's greatest asset in winning the total interest of a man is the mystery of her body. When she casually discards this mystery, she is much like the magician who reveals his secrets before his performance. The audience gets bored before it has a chance to get interested.

Whatever its weaknesses as a human institution, marriage, like hard work, strengthens the social fabric. And a strong social fabric makes life more reasonable, more secure, and more satisfying.

Other middle-class values frequently belittled are thrift, which only means a careful handling of resources; the acquisition of "material" things like home appliances, which commit no greater crime than to reduce household drudgery; and social and business competition, which occurs when people try to improve themselves.

Wait a minute, say the critics. What we object to is the plastic character of American life (dissenters use the term *plastic* to mean synthetic).

According to Bennett M. Berger, former chairman of the Sociology Department at the University of California at Davis, who has talked with many dissenters, "from the perspective of the disaffected young, to be middle class these days means to have your achievements and your aspirations so adjusted that you always want or need a little more than you've got, but are so dependent upon what you *have* got—and so vulnerable to its being taken away—that threats to it compound your anxiety and put you, in the parlance of the young, uptight."

What the dissenters are saying, then, is that they have no freedom of choice when it comes to setting their own goals. No freedom of choice? Surely they have enough character to eschew a college education if that smacks too much of conformity. Do they want to spend their lives sitting in the top of a tree writing sonnets? That can be arranged. If the pace of modern living and its rewards are judged unsatisfactory, there are ways to get out of the mainstream. But if the great middle-class majority feels differently, then perhaps the dissenters should be content to do their own thing, and not insist that everyone else must do it. However, the acceptance of dissent is also a middle-class value.

As for anxiety, some anxiety is the lot of anyone with wit enough to imagine adversity. When a society becomes complicated, tensions increase because the possibilities for mishap incease. Nevertheless, it's more satisfying to send a spacecraft to the moon than to burrow under a bush to hide from the night.

What of "middle-class hypocrisy"? American society is indeed hypocritical—most societies are. Hypocrisy is necessary, especially in a pluralistic society, where people of divergent cultures are attempting to live at peace with one another. The serious hypocrisy in this nation concerns white society's treatment of the Negro. But customs change. Whites and Negroes are both maturing with a speed that could not have been predicted 15 years ago. Pluralistic America has had more opportunities for ethnic conflict than any other nation in history. That our society has been able to hold together while so many antagonistic forces have pushed and shoved is something of a miracle.

To blame the contemporary middle class for the plight of the Negro is absurd. By the accident of birth a man becomes the product and prisoner of a culture, and this is as true of whites as of blacks. Cultural differences in a society take time to fade; men can do no more than try to accelerate the process.

The admitted responsibility of the American middle class—admitted in the form of acts of Congress, presidential declarations, state and municipal laws, and enlightened business policies—is to work hard at clearing a path for Negroes. That's what the country is doing. It's a very expensive job but there is no choice, either from the standpoint of internal peace or from the standpoint of the Protestant ethic. It's the right thing to do, and the middle class knows it.

The American middle class, being composed of human beings, is not short on hostilities, but it doesn't deserve to be damned as racist when it exists in a racist world. The middle class didn't chart the course of civilization, nor did it invent those cultural phenomena that make relations between the races difficult.

The attack on the middle class, when it has been nonviolent, has performed a useful service. Change is the order of the universe and as man expands his horizons, he should be ready to review all his attitudes. But customs and values are deeply embedded in the social structure; they change by being sanded down and reshaped, not by being discarded whole.

It would be a dreary world without the dissenters. It's too easy for middle-class people to work themselves into a rut, especially in a highly organized society of specialists. We all need to be jolted once in a while. But having absorbed the jolt, we are still free to place competing values on the scales of reason.

Is it preferable to seek inner satisfaction by turning one's best efforts upon a difficult task or by seeking immediate gratification through drugs? Is it better to bear up under the commuter's burden and thereby earn leisure and the means to use it or to lounge in a loft all day and then beg for a meal? Is a shirt and tie more plastic than a psychedelic kimono? Is it more rational to promote a continuing dialogue between students and campus authorities or to come to school with guns and tools for vandalizing buildings? Is some hypocrisy a useful social lubricant or is it a sin against mankind? Are security and respectability less desirable than their opposites? Is the Negro making more progress today in America than he has ever made anywhere else at any time in history? Do middle-class values serve the general welfare?

The middle class does the work, pays the bills, and gets blamed for everything. But, though the dissidents might deny it, the middle class is susceptible to rational, civilized argument. It is willing to change—however joltingly hypocritical this may seem.

—*Edwin A. Roberts, Jr.*

STRONGER than the economic and social values that Edwin Roberts attributes to the middle class is a value that stands behind them and is central to those he mentions. I believe that an understanding of this value helps clarify what he sees as American middle-class values and helps explain why he interprets the central objective of the attackers of those values to be the elimination of the country's mores and why he seems to me to misunderstand student critics in the particular way he does.

Middle-class values and orientation of life can largely be understood in terms of sociability—smooth social relations, getting along with others, being friendly with as many people as possible, and fitting into one's community. A typical middle-class person interprets the world and himself in terms of family and friends, neighborhood, town, and nation.

We see this, for example, in middle-class parents' strong concern with their children's social development. If the teacher says that Johnny can't read, that is cause for some concern, but if he reports, "Johnny is unable to get along with others," that is cause for alarm. When these parents prepare their children for school, they stress getting along with the other children and cooperating with the teacher. Thus, in middle-class schools, we see a whole social philosophy of education that emphasizes smooth social relations, popularity, and joining clubs and activities.

A different emphasis, interpretation, and view of the world comes from a large segment of students—the activists—who regard individual development and expression as their primary values. They ask, "Does this make sense to me personally? Does this aid my own and others' *individual* development?" Because such a point of view is especially characteristic of young people in the upper-middle and upper classes, this type of activism occurs frequently in upper-middle-class schools and universities and among children of well-educated and economically well-off parents.

With subjective self-development and self-expression as a goal, how do these young people react to the norms, customs, and values of society? They feel that society often needlessly blocks personal growth. When a school enforces dress or appearance codes, for instance, they see this as an example of the middle-class addiction to getting along with others, to uniformity, to social acceptance. Student activists don't mind if people want to conform, but believe that the standards people conform to ought to be of their personal selection, not forced upon them.

This is the problem as the activists see it: We have a predominantly middle-class society. The high value that the middle class assigns to norms and conformity results in a society that places too much emphasis on its laws and customs. These constraints limit personal freedom more than is necessary. In the long run, they also endanger society, because they limit the renewal, adaptation, and evolution that come from experimentation with new values and new ways of living.

A healthy society ought to encourage social experimentation and invention just as it encourages technological research and development. Cultural and social diversity is a measure of society's wealth just as much as are GNP and material things like home appliances. But to make progress in this direction, the middle class will have to give up its notion that there is *one* American way of life and *one* sort of social organization that is best for all the people all the time. There are many.

According to Edwin Roberts, the activists "are of one mind about the central objective—the elimination of the country's mores." When we keep in mind the fact that middle-class people are very sensitive to norms and interpret the world through the idea of social acceptance, we can understand that Edwin Roberts is a spokesman for this point of view. It seems to me that people of this persuasion misinterpret the desire for personal growth and its subsidiary disaffection with norms as primarily an attack on the norms. Actually, the so-called attack is merely an attempt to remove an impediment to self-growth.

The issue the established middle class sees is an attack on middle-class mores; the issue student social critics see is a restriction of human potential.

For example, middle-class defense of middle-class values is based on the fact that they contribute to the economy, not that they lead to a richer, fuller life. They talk as if those who are critics of society are attacking society's affluence. The fact is that the critics are attacking the misuses of affluence and the view that sees man as predominantly an economic animal rather than as a human being with immense potentials. It is the apparent infatuation with goods and services and the seeming disregard of man's higher states that student critics of society object to. "Couldn't some of these resources be used for purposes better than protection against imagined political, economic, and social enemies?" they ask.

Edwin Roberts says that the middle class values hard work because "hard work produces a higher standard of living," and adds "That millions of middle-class people live culturally narrow lives does not diminish their contributions to the economy." This sounds to the activists as though, to the middle class, the higher standard of living is a goal in itself.

Thank God the Holy Economy isn't affected! Anything but that! If millions of people don't contribute to the cultural richness of society, so what? So what, if they live culturally impoverished lives? So what, as long as the GNP keeps compounding? The student activists are asking the unthinkable question: *Now that our standard of living is high enough*, what do we do with the surplus economy?

More important than the middle class's conception of man as predominantly economic and spurred on by economic goals are its shockingly immoral views toward women and sex. It seems to regard women as some sort of mysteriously performing sex machine. When the magical performance is over, they are useless. It overlooks the problem of what that point of view forecasts when, after the first year of marriage, the "mystery of her body" is a fact of everyday life. It doesn't face the problem of what happens when age makes her body less appealing.

To today's young people, sex relationships are no longer based on the ephemeral "mystery of her body"; instead, they are based on more enduring and important qualities, such as compatibility of character, personality, interests and hopes, sense of humor and taste, the joys of sharing life, values.

Restricting half of society to lower status on the grounds that their greatest asset is only the mystery of their bodies, an asset soon lost, is degrading not only to the denigrated half but also to the half that perpetuates these demeaning, immoral attitudes. Regardless of whether sex, skin color, or any other physiological difference provides the grounds for debasement, the prejudice, restriction of individual liberty, and pinioning of the human potential are just as immoral. On this basis, at least, the battle for women's rights and for minority rights is the same.

The middle-class emphasis on social acceptance and social norms weakens its appreciation of divergent views and ideas—makes it blind to social problems, especially those stemming from its own middle-class norms. Unfortunately, many middle-class institutions, especially schools, persist in forcing these values on the whole society, ignoring the fact that they are amputating individual liberty under the slogan "Socially Acceptable Standards."

The middle class may value a money-minded, socially acquiescent nation, but this won't build the world or the educational system that the self-growth type of student activists want. It will stunt, not nourish, the human potential.

—*Thomas Bradford Roberts*

Schools That Turn People Off

Stewart Doig

EARLY in his school life, a child learns that teachers would rather compare one student's achievements to those of others than trust any student's natural motivation to learn. He also learns various means for escaping a disturbing environment in which almost all activities are designed around a core of comparisons and win-lose. Methods courses, teaching teams, and individual teachers wrestle with objectives, motivations, and evaluations, but somehow most teachers go on assuming that competition is the most important if not the only motivation to learning.

At the same time, the child learns another lesson—to suppress his feelings. A teacher confronted with a tearful kindergartner feels free to offer comfort. By the second or third grade, however, all this is changed. An angry or otherwise emotional encounter between children receives an abrupt response: "Now let's act our age." To children, the lesson must seem to be that adult behavior requires at least the hiding of one's true feelings from others, and at most, it requires denying them to one's self.

I once asked a class of high school juniors to express some of the things that made them feel bad about themselves. The words tumbled from them all. "I don't study enough." "I'm lazy." "I talk too much." When I then asked them to express their good feelings about themselves, the silence was awful. A few responses finally came, but they were tentative and apologetic. The class agreed that the reason for their reticence was that personal growth comes from awareness of shortcomings and efforts to overcome them. They felt that concentration on good feelings about one's self could result only in conceit, and conceit is unproductive.

The home does much to encourage this kind of self-denial, but the schools play their part in reinforcing it. The results are legion. If you cannot trust your good feelings about yourself, it follows that you cannot trust *any* feelings about others. Feelings are not to be shared because they may be wrong, or at least they are subject to change. Few seem to realize that feelings are a fact and that labeling them right or wrong is fruitless.

The classroom emulates the adult environment, in which ideas are shared, but not feelings. It is presumed that the best response to an idea is another idea but that feelings are neither expressed nor responded to.

The irony of the teacher's failure to legitimatize the expression of feelings in the classroom is that instead of achieving the healthy competition he seeks, he is confronted with a cooperative conformity that is nothing less than stifling. Competition becomes the essence of the classroom, but not in the way the teacher intended. It reveals itself as a contest between the class and the teacher, each struggling to impose one kind of agreement on the other. The usual outcome is a modus operandi acceptible to both —a contract in which seemingly incompatible viewpoints are reconciled. It never really works, but it can be lived with.

The contract, were it ever verbalized, would read something like this: We, the undersigned students, in the interest of survival, agree to compete to such a degree as to fill the requirements set by the teacher, but not to the extent that we violate our pledge to be dishonest about our feelings, both with ourselves and with one another.

Because of this contract, in the three situations described below the students are unable to help one another to learn and the teachers are unable to show them how.

The high school senior class has just heard a lecture entitled "Money and Man." The teacher asks, "Any questions?"

No one responds. The teacher has planned a half-hour discussion and feels that the lecture should be clarified first.

"Is there anything that you do not understand?" she asks. "This is a pretty complex business."

Still no response. A long silence follows as students contemplate their desk tops. At last, a lone hand is raised hesitantly.

"Martha?"

"I guess," says Martha, almost apologetically, "I still don't understand what makes our money have value if it's not backed by gold."

An audible sigh of relief rises from the class.

Because, under terms of the contract, the youngsters couldn't check out each other's feelings, each believed himself to be the only dope in the room and thought that he would reveal himself if he asked a question.

The teacher finds that the criteria developed by the class for the evaluation of research papers are not serving as an effective

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tool in the actual process of evaluation. The class is politely attentive as members read their papers, then apathetic when evaluation is called for.

"I didn't set the criteria," the teacher complains to the class. "*You* did. What's the matter? This could be really exciting, but you just won't try."

"Why do we have to pick everything apart?" one student responds. "It gets boring after a while."

"I could see things wrong with the papers," says another student, "but I don't want to hurt anyone's feelings. Besides, you're the expert in research. Why don't you do the evaluation?"

The contract tells the students to rationalize their inability to be honest. The boy says, "I don't want to hurt anyone's feelings," when what he really means is, "If I hurt his feelings, he won't like me." Students learn to be equally dishonest about positive feelings toward others. Compliments must be withheld lest they be seen as requests for affection, a sign of weakness that breaks the rigid norm of conformity. Honest affection between teacher and student must be denied lest the "teacher's pet" label be applied. The net result is that so-called friendships are often shallow, arm's-length relationships.

A debate has just ended in a junior high English class. Roger has been declared the victor. The teacher asks Walter, the loser, if he understands why he was outscored.

"I guess so," he says.

"Why?"

"Roger was better prepared."

"How?"

"He had more facts and he had them organized better."

"That's true. Anything else?"

"His arguments were, well, more logical, and he had rehearsed the way he was going to do it."

"Yes, his presentation helped. I want to emphasize, Walter, that your work is not bad. It's just that you need to put a little more effort into each part of it. Understand?"

"Sure."

Walter leaves the class with his best friend.

"That louse, Roger," he says. "He's so slick with words. He's been fooling people with his big fat mouth ever since he came to this school. I hate his guts."

Undoubtedly, the debate between Walter and Roger was stimulating for the other class members—it is a rare refreshment to see someone other than the teacher at the center of attention—but it is likely that the most important learnings were the ones that got least attention.

The teacher had assumed that during a debate viewpoints would be changed and learning would take place. However, if debates in the humanities are to accomplish anything more than merely to reinforce prejudice, they must have a degree of scientific objectivity, and Walter's preoccupation with his long hostility toward Roger had made him so defensive that it was impossible for him to be objective.

Those who observed the debate probably shared Walter's confusion of thoughts and feelings, and this confusion undoubtedly influenced their evaluation of the debate. What part did personal and group loyalties play in the evaluation? What was the impact of competition on evaluation and learning? It would seem that the teacher was guilty of wrong diagnoses of student needs. It is my experience that much bad teaching results from this cause. Creative methods directed toward unworthy ends are flashes in the pan, "full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

Walter's most important learning may have been that it is wiser to avoid class debates. Further, he has probably experienced a reinforcement of the student contract not to deal with feelings in the classroom. If Walter does confront Roger, it will have to be outside the classroom. It is doubtful that even the teacher's cognitive objectives were achieved in Walter's case. At most, he has marshalled ideas and facts to defend himself against Roger. It is unlikely that he is able to look at their validity independent of his own involvement.

Usually, teachers learn more than their students. This indicates that students need more opportunities to teach one another. Teachers accept this concept and build all sorts of lesson plans around it. Their techniques cannot work, however, while the contract we have been discussing is in effect. How is one student to help another improve his research and writing skills when the lessons he has learned best make him say, "I must be critical enough of your work to impress the teacher, but not so critical that you will retaliate with devastating comments when it is my turn to be criticized"?

What is needed is a new contract involving a climate of openness and humanity. Some teachers are experimenting with the idea, but they are few and far between. It is incredible that such a contract should seem so risky, but we have been phony for so long that the disingenuousness of childhood appears beyond re-

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call. A flicker may remain, however. Recently, when after some noticeable and painful hesitation, I said of a student skit, "It was lousy," the reaction was totally joyous. "We knew it was awful," they said, tearful with the laughter of release, "but we didn't think you'd say it. Teachers never tell it straight. It's always, 'You worked well together, but . . .' "

The new contract must be based on the presumption that in a world of unprecedented change, the students need values and skills more than content. These values and skills must help them to organize themselves and their institutions to gather information and to make decisions about goals and how they can be reached. The day is gone when a basic body of knowledge, given to all students, can equip most of them for life. As a history teacher, I have caught myself checking back on the meaning of the Stimson Doctrine so that I could teach it. To what end? If I was not impressed by its significance after 17 years of teaching, what was my purpose in forcing it upon my students? Basic knowledge, indeed!

A contract based on such a presumption would have as its corollary the conviction that we are going to need tough, emotionally strong people more than ever before in human history. The classroom that sets as an objective the development of such toughness will be one in which students are required to share in setting learning goals for themselves and for the group. It will be a classroom in which students run the scary risk of growth through the honest evaluation of themselves and of one another and of the teacher. (In my experiments, students welcomed opportunities to evaluate me, but were terrified at the prospect of honest ratings of themselves and one another.)

The new contract will aim at the kind of toughness that risks tenderness as well as hostility. Perhaps most important of all, the new contract will be an open one, openly negotiated. It will recognize that what happens in schools is more about people than about things and that the classroom is best when it is not seen simply as *preparation* for life but is viewed as life itself, where risks and rewards are here and now and very real.

School-Community Relations:

Alienation or Interaction?

Jonathan Kozol

IN THE midst of so much talk around the country about the alienation of the school from the community, it might be helpful to consider briefly a few suggestions that have been of value to certain schools and teachers—suggestions which, in at least one instance, led to the establishment of a brand new school along lines that promise to afford the maximum possible interaction between the school and its community.

School-community relations in some of our cities have appeared to militate severely against uninhibited and easygoing interaction. Much of the professional preparation of teachers seems to operate against the inclination of many of them to make friends easily and naturally with the local community. Some teachers seem—when on the verge of showing an unfamiliar openness—to back away and remember an almost-forgotten lesson about the self-restraint, reserve, and caution expected of a "responsible" teacher.

Caution and self-restraint, of course, can be admirable qualities, but when they begin to produce a needless wariness, a woodenness of manner, a faculty-room dialogue about "the best way to talk to parents," then they become a rather sad and debilitating factor in the experience of both teachers and parents.

At its worst, such a distorted professionalism has come to mean something almost like deception or self-disguise. I do not want to mock in any way the sense of propriety in decent teachers; but propriety is one thing, self-dehydration, another. The latter has seemed to a good many enthusiastic teachers to be a terrible and often irreversible force in shutting off real feelings between a child and a teacher or between a teacher and a parent.

For younger teachers, and for all who are young in spirit, the distance thus created between themselves and the community has been disheartening. Administrators or older teachers frequently will explain to the new teachers what the school considers or does not consider appropriate professional behavior. They seem to be saying that a professional teacher moves with caution and reveals himself to other people only with enormous circumspection.

They seem to be saying that being *professional* means that you do not laugh or sneeze too carelessly, that you do not kid around, you do not stop in casually at a child's home just because you feel like it. It means that you do not let kids know whether you like candy, wear boots on weekends, or enjoy pop music, good movies, and chocolate ice cream. It means that you are not a total human being.

This is a great pity, above all, because many teachers have within them the capacity to be very full and exciting human beings, and shutting their private interests and personal complexities out of the classroom seems a considerable loss to everyone. Its net result too often has been the alienation of school from community, of parent from teacher, of the teacher from his own humanity.

In one urban school where I taught, the PTA met in a spacious auditorium. I remember vividly the first meeting I attended because I got there late, and what greeted my eyes was both symptomatic and symbolic: The parents were all on one side; the teachers, on the other. The center section was a gaping space of empty seats.

Those empty seats symbolized the distance, the reservation, and the distrust between the two groups. I am not lodging an exclusive indictment against the administration or the teachers. The ultimate responsibility unquestionably was theirs, but the parents, also, were suspicious and uneasy. Because this school was in a Negro neighborhood, and the school faculty almost entirely white, mutual antagonisms were greatly heightened.

This is the kind of stalemate in human relations that turns too easily to social tragedy. Nobody can be the gainer from such a grim antagonism, and everyone who attends a PTA meeting of that sort must leave it with a sense of dreadful failure.

So—without in any sense assigning total blame to schools or educators—let me at least offer a few tentative suggestions for getting at some of these urgent problems.

Some exciting things have happened when teachers, on their own, have been willing to venture out from the classroom into the community. The most meaningful tribute I have ever heard given to an educator was paid to a New York City principal. He had been a friend to his ghetto community and had *earned* its friendship in the only way that ever counted: by putting his professional dignity on the shelf and revealing to the people his deep humanity.

On his retirement, he was told by a parent that he was considered not merely the principal of the school, but "the principal of this community."

Such situations happen only infrequently. But they could happen more often. I do not believe that school people who go out and risk their dignity and expose their human nature to the mothers and fathers of a ghetto neighborhood—or, indeed, any other kind of neighborhood—are likely to come back disappointed. I am convinced that educators who will show this kind of confidence will receive it tenfold in return.

The moment a teacher or principal suddenly knows that it is necessary and possible for him to venture out into the community on an informal and unguarded and unofficial basis, he has taken a large step toward bettering school-community relations.

But the first step is only one part of the answer. Another step is allowing the community to make its way into the *classroom*—and to be there at the teachers' invitation.

How is this to happen? Teachers speak repeatedly to each other of the obstacles they encounter—many of them administrative—whenever they try to involve parents in the workings of a classroom. And we all know the situation of the mother who may care deeply about her child's education but cannot make it to a meeting or appointment because she can't leave her job or infants.

The school must assume, first of all, that it is not of secondary, but of *maximum* importance to find a way to reach that woman. If we are not fooling (if we are not, in fact, relieved to have her stay away), is there no way to make such visits possible?

I'd like to suggest three ways:

1. Boards should allocate either funds or personnel for nursery or baby-sitting services (ideally, right in the school building) during school hours, in the late afternoon, or in the early evening, and schools should organize car pools, pick-up services, or cooperative arrangements to help get parents to the school.

2. Once the parent has made it to the school, the school staff has got to be prepared to go far beyond that traditional "smile in the doorway." Parents might well take workshops either *from* or *with* the teachers. Parents and teachers might participate together in community-action seminars in which prominent speakers talk to them about matters of urgent and immediate common interest.

Parents of proven capability might be given paying jobs within the school—as teacher aides, librarians, counselors, or local consultants on specific problems. Sometimes the most modest amount of remuneration might pay off richly, for both school and community. The key factor is the seriousness of the work assignment the parent receives. If it is simply a dole in exchange for trivial make-work, then it will be no good to anyone. Nobody is fooled by that kind of calculating charity; its only result is to heighten further whatever cynicism and distrust were present all along.

3. The school system should work to get parents involved in a school's affairs even before the school building begins to take shape on the architect's drawing board. An ideal school has a strong and operative PTA in which the parents are making some of the key decisions before ground is broken, long before the first girders rise.

The ideal school of the next decade may well be one in which the community feels a high stake precisely because its succss will redound to that community's esteem and credit. It is a school that does not merely tolerate parents, but depends upon them.

What I am describing is often referred to as a "community school." Some attempts at community schools have turned out badly, have not been efficient or successful or idyllic by any means. I know of at least one, however, that has been remarkably successful. While by no means flawless or untroubled, it offers us at least some very exciting guidelines for the future.

This successful venture is the New School for Children. It is not a public school but as far as its manner of operation and community participation are concerned, it might as well be. The school, located in the middle of the Boston ghetto, now runs from kindergarten through fifth grade and later will probably go on to junior high.

A group of militant Negro parents founded the school two years ago. For reasons of their own, they took their children out of the public schools and, with very little foundation support and no help or encouragement at all from the government, went into the suburbs and into their own community and spoke, begged, and pleaded until they raised $80,000 to open their own school. But they started the school before they found the $80,000.

The New School seems to offer answers to a number of the most serious problems in school-community relations. First, the parents chose the teachers they wanted. Though most of the parents were Negro, they did not pick only Negro teachers. It was sufficient for them that a good number of Negroes were involved in calling the shots. Half the teachers are Negro, as is the headmistress. But this would have been almost irrelevant so long as the community had the significant role that it wanted in the selection process.

The school began as a predominantly Negro school but has become increasingly integrated by virtue of its growing reputation. It lays to rest, in the minds of a good many observers, some of the fears that people have traditionally had about bussing.

When you have an attractive school like the New School, white people are likely to want to send their children into the ghetto to attend it; they seem to forget with refreshing ease their previous belief in the sanctity of the neighborhood school. *Community*—at the New School—has been defined in a broad and unparochial sense. The school is in every way racially and culturally and economically mixed.

Parent involvement in the school is not yet so near-total and all-encompassing as the founders wanted, but the parents' feeling of responsibility for the success or failure of the program is already considerable. On the other side of the coin, teachers do not seem to be particularly unsettled by the continuing presence of the parents. Because the entire project began as a joint effort, teachers know, for example, that the parents are not going to rush in and insult or accost them.

The school literally had a PTA before it had a building. Begun on a shoestring but with a vast amount of confidence and human energy, the school has now started to attract national attention and is serving as a prototype for similar experiments in several other cities.

I do not want to suggest, out of my affection for the New School, that public schools should cancel themselves out and that professional administrators should retire and go fishing. What I am saying is simply that the *community school* idea has much to admire in it and much to tell us. There are cases of its apparent failure but there is also, in the New School, exciting evidence of its potential. Might it not be possible, in our continuing search for new ways to bring the school and the community together, to learn a tremendous amount from a close examination of this kind of venture?

Public schools will go on being public schools and will doubtless, for the immediate future, continue to be operated by those whom society has adjudged to be competent and professional.

Perhaps it would be helpful to us, though, if in the midst of our professional confidence and dignity, we were also willing to look anew at the qualities available in the community and to see whether the answer to our present problem does not lie somewhere out there.

If we want to bring the community into the school and the school back to the community, then might we not have to readjust our sense of distance, of dignity, of professional respectability—indeed, of the ways in which we have defined the word "professional" itself? Will we not be more respectable in the long run as we become more human, more easygoing, more vulnerable, less hidden, less locked up, and less defensive? And if we are really to achieve this, will we not have to allow the community a far more significant voice and presence in the day-to-day operation of our public schools?

I am posing all these questions because I am not an expert and do not have the answers. I am simply hoping here to put forward some suggestions that may, in certain cases, be helpful or catalytic. Things are far from ideal at the present time—we all know this. It may be precisely the right moment to take a few risks in the direction of human trust and see what happens.

Aggression in the Classroom

Fritz Redl

THERE'S plenty of minor aggression in the classroom that nobody objects to. The real problem is the aggression that prevents good teaching and good classroom life. This aggression comes primarily from three areas.

First, it is an input from the home or from the community. A teen-ager gets hopping mad at his old man, but he doesn't dare let off steam until he gets to school. Now, the teacher didn't produce the aggression, but it's there and he's got to handle it.

Second, is the discharge from within. Some youngster sits there daydreaming, and all of a sudden during a wild fantasy, he thinks of something that upsets him and he conks his neighbors on the head. None of them have done anything to him, and the teacher hasn't either. Something just burst out from within. (If youngsters are seriously disturbed, most of the aggression comes from way within, and neither they nor anyone else knows why.)

Third, the aggression is engendered right there in the classroom. It may be triggered either by what the teacher does that's right but that doesn't happen to fit the kid, or by God knows what—the kid's reaction to the group or to other kids, or to something that maybe the teacher wouldn't have done if he had stopped to think. But anyway, it's reactive to something in the environment at the moment.

Now, if I were a classroom teacher, I would like to know how much of which of those three packages is exploding before me, because it makes a difference in terms of long-range planning. It also makes some difference in terms of what to do at the moment. Most of the time we are not sure, but different sources of aggression smell different when we are confronted with them. Experienced teachers develop an uncanny skill at sensing "This is something the kid brought with him. I've got to help him recover from it before he acts it out." The outsider, though, wouldn't know.

Some aggression does not affect us directly because certain youngsters may be model pupils in the classroom, but then after school they may go out and rape or murder someone. So a young-

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ster may be full of sick aggression without being a classroom problem.

On the other hand, there may be a great kid sitting over there who's bored stiff. He likes you a lot, but he gets mad at the fact that you bore him stiff. Finally, he's just had it, and he runs out and slams the door. A normal youngster like that whose aggression is classroom-produced is our problem. Too often, an article on aggression in the classroom concentrates on a few examples of youngsters who should have been in a mental hospital for the last 10 years anyway and ignores all the other kids who bother us.

The term *aggression* is so overused now, you've got to watch out for it. Don't ever let anybody trap you into discussing aggression without first asking him: "Listen, brother, which aggression are you talking about? What actually happened?" Because aggression has a wide range — all the way from reacting to boredom to wrestling at the wrong time in the wrong place with another pupil.

Discharge of surplus energy or of displaced needs from the home or neighborhood; loss of control in the face of seductive equipment like a slingshot or a knife or whatnot; personal battles with adults, other kids, the group, or the teacher—all these fall under the heading of aggression.

The way Joe or Jane expresses aggression, while not the end of what we're looking for, certainly should be the starting point. Unless you know what lies behind their behavior, you will have trouble knowing how to handle it. Sometimes you may understand perfectly well how come. So the question then is what do you do to help him, which is a separate matter from knowing what was cooking to begin with.

I want to give special warning here not to make aggression synonymous with violence. The two are not the same, although they are obviously related. There is a theme in violence that we can legitimately call aggression. On the other hand, not all violence comes from aggressive drives. The behavior is aggressive, but the basis may be quite different. Let me give a few illustrations of violence that does not spring from aggression.

Panic coping. A kid may get scared stiff, so scared that he doesn't know what to do anymore. So he does something violent; he tears something apart. The fact that the behavior is violent is important. But this child is not hyperaggressive; he is frightened and desperate.

The need to be heard. A frequent source of violence is the feeling that nobody listens. The child finally concludes that the only way to get someone to listen is to be violent enough. So when other avenues are blocked off, violence is a substitute for verbal and nonverbal communication.

The desire to display guts. If a kid is supposed to be tough, how can he show it? Who is going to believe it? "I'd better not let them know I'm scared. So I've got to find ways to show I'm brave." In order to do this in a peaceful life, he's got to create problems.

Demonstrating loyalty to the group code. This source of violence is not originally meant to be aggression for aggression's sake. ("If the rest of my gang thinks school is no good, I'd better show that I'm with them. So I put a thumbtack in the teacher's chair. I don't hate the teacher, too bad it's her rear that gets stung. But I'm a regular guy and I'm going to prove it.")

Risk taking—to study survival skills. For instance, how can a boy know if he can run fast enough to outrun the cop, unless he swipes something first? Or else picks a rat out of an ash can, swirls it by the tail, throws it in somebody's first-story window, and then hops over the garage roof fast before they can catch him? A kid has to know how good he is in handling a dangerous assignment.

The stink and the dust produced in the decay of group psychology. If a group suddenly gets anxious or panicky or wild or disorganized or elated or mad at each other, you get a lot of behavior that involves violence but that did not start as aggression. Although Joe and Jane may be doing something, they're not doing it as Joe and Jane but as members of a group.

Last on my list of violence that does not start with aggression but is secondary to it is, of course, *an invasion of societal turmoil from the outside.* Someone or something in the community ties a package of emotional TNT to the back of a kid and it blows up in the classroom. The kid responsible wasn't originally aggressive; he carries the whole load of community or neighborhood or subgroup aggression. As his teacher, you're just an innocent bystander. What he does has nothing to do with the way you taught him or whether you bawled him out or flunked him.

In short, there is some relationship between violence and aggression, but not a simple one. For teachers it's very important to begin to sense the difference between Joe's being loaded with personal anger at what you just did and the explosion that results when his TNT package goes off at a given time. They are different problems.

Now let me give a few abbreviated hints of what to do about various kinds of child behavior—hints that are not fancy enough to be written up much in books.

First, you sometimes need to get kids off the hook. The aggressive behavior is beginning but without having really been planned, and if you get pupils off the hook *now,* they don't have to continue. Another way of putting it is that you sometimes need to cut a contagion chain without making a big deal out of it. And in most cases knowing how to do this is very important in dealing with a normally well-behaved child as well as with a wild one.

Take Joe, for example. He's sitting over there shaking imaginary dice, and at the moment you're not too bothered. You catch his eye and he stops, but only momentarily. After a while everybody else gets interested. You want to cut that contagion chain now, because if you wait another five minutes, you'll have a mass problem on your hands.

If you interfere too early, everyone thinks you're a fusspot, a dope, or chicken, and you only aggravate things. If you don't interfere at the right time, you'll have trouble. Getting Joe off the hook at the right moment will stop his behavior without a big scene, and the rest of the group will not be too heavily afflicted. This skill of cutting contagion chains without making too much of a mess is, I think, one of the most important for anybody who deals with groups.

A second important technique for the practical handling of aggression in the classroom is signal interference. Signal interference in time saves nine. Very often teachers underestimate the possibility of stopping minor forms of misbehavior quite casually before the kid gets too carried away by it. They don't take the behavior seriously, because it isn't bothersome enough. So they wait until it does get bothersome enough, and by that time the situation is tense, the kid is already off his noodle, and anything they do now will have an explosive effect.

The big problem is that most teachers lack a good inventory of preaggression signals for their pupils. In some youngsters, the signals are easy to spot. Others apparently go aggressive all of a sudden from nowhere. That's because the teacher's radar doesn't pick up their signals. But if the teacher works at it, after a while he begins to get the messages from all around the room. One kid, for example, gets glassy-eyed and sits there quietly in a certain rigid position. If the teacher goes over and taps him on the shoulder, he'll go up like a rocket. Two minutes ago, if the teacher had gone around and said, "Come on, let's start working," that would have been fine.

A good many teachers—particularly those who are new to the classroom—do not know enough about the physiological and gestural signals that indicate the work-up to aggressive behavior. Everybody with experience understands them, but conveying this understanding to the other guy is hard. Apparently we don't think it's important because we don't have any fancy lingo for it, but if I were a beginning teacher, that's the kind of information I would like to have.

If you send me a kid with an unknown aggression work-up potential, I'd like to get to know that kid and figure out what he looks like before he goes off the handle. After that, I can tell at a glance that this is the moment to go over to him.

In observing classrooms and watching teachers with disturbed youngsters, I am constantly amazed at the terrific skill people with experience develop, and they can't ever explain it. What's more, they don't even mention it. They think it isn't worth discussing.

Let me describe one incident I observed:

A kid is sitting stiffly at his desk, obviously determined that he "ain't gonna do *nothing*." The teacher walks over to him, pats him on the shoulder, and says: "Now, how about it? You don't feel so good, huh?" And he doesn't say anything. What does she do then? She says: "OK, I'll come back in a while. Maybe by then you'll be feeling better." That's all. She doesn't push him. ("Why don't you . . .? What's the matter with you? What kind of family do you come from, anyway?")

She uses her judgment, and sooner or later he's over the hump. His face clears up; his posture is relaxed. Then she comes over and puts the pencil in his hand and he starts working.

Now, number three: Watch out for the choreography of the dare. In our present society we all have an insatiable, unquenchable thirst for tribal rituals. We still perform tribal dances. Take this scene:

We have what looks like a relatively normal classroom at the moment. Here is Joe back there, who wishes I'd leave him alone. But he knows I'm a nice guy, that I've got to make a living, after all. And I'm pretty harmless, though a little crazy, maybe.

Still, somehow, the noise gets too loud, and I finally say: "Listen, you, you'd better stop that now." Then maybe things get worse, and maybe by this time I'm angry, too. So I say: "All right, now, if you can't be quiet here, why don't you go out and cool off?"

Let's assume I'm relatively lucky in my diagnosis, and the youngster gets up and moves to the door, but on the way he mumbles something under his breath. If I ask him what he said, he probably feels he has to lie — so I make a liar out of him. Or if he is decently honest, I have to send him to the principal.

The foregoing is one way the scene can be played. But it also can be played differently. If Joe is sensitive of his prestige in the group, and I happen to have adults looking over my shoulder, then both of us become involved in a tribal dance. He has to say, "Make me," and I have to say, "All right. I'll make you." So either I try to bounce him or I call the principal or whatnot. Then for three weeks, lots of procedures go on—all nonsensical and having nothing to do with the original issue. Joe's become a discipline case, almost.

What I've described here is a personal interaction, a limit-setting process of a very simple nature, really. Most of the time it works like a charm, but in the second instance it became a tribal dance. If I were a principal assigning teachers to study halls or other large groups, I would like to know how vulnerable they are to the tribal dance routine, because in a dare situation the pressure is terrific. If you send me a kid who is tough, I don't mind. But I would like to know how involved this kid is in a tribal dance.

You see, some kids who are plenty tough don't fall for that kind of nonsense. In fact, some of my best delinquents would never be so stupid as that. If I really challenged them, they would think: "All right, so let the guy have his little victory for a change. So what! So I go out. I'm tough enough. Nobody will think I gave in." If, however, the youngster isn't really tough enough, but has to pretend he is, then he has to do the tribal dance in order to impress the others with his plumage or whatever.

This is a big danger. And many a teacher could avoid many a large discipline problem if he were able to recognize the first drum beats of a tribal dance. Very often we push relatively tough kids who mean well into tribal dances because we are unaware of the position they are in. At other times, we do not interfere when we should because we are too afraid we'll provoke a tribal dance when actually we wouldn't.

So the tribal dance is a whole phenomenon—separate from the usual problem of discipline—that is a rather deep psychological problem.

Number four: Watch out for the subsurface effect. Whatever I do also has a side effect, and it is not always visible right now. If we are aware of what else happens besides the immediate effect of what we do, we won't simply say, "Because I blamed him for being noisy or because I praised him for being quiet, everything is hunky-dory right now."

So it's important to look with one eye to the possible nonvisible side effect. I can do something about it afterwards, but only if I'm on the lookout for it. Like that boy we've been talking about. Let's say he leaves the room and doesn't start the tribal dance. In that case, I'll want to make sure we have a brief get-together afterwards to tell him that I appreciate his doing what I asked and that I'll defend his reputation with the rest of the kids. I'll say that there are no hard feelings; it was just that I couldn't let him get so loud in class. That's all; nothing more.

If you have to live with aggression, at least try not to breed it. We breed it, of course, by exposing even otherwise normal boys and girls to experiences, to space arrangements, to life situations that invariably produce inner frustration.

For instance, if I bore a youngster, I expose him to frustration. Or, if I have to delay giving help that is needed—say, a boy over there is stuck in the middle of a long division problem, and I can't get to him for a while because I have to be over here with the others. Sooner or later he's had it, and he gets mad.

Or I may breed aggression if I intervene with too little sympathy. If a youngster is doing something interesting, something he likes, do I say, "Get going this minute. Do you want to be late again?" when I could just as well say, "Look, I'm sorry to have to break that up, but you know we've got to get out now."

One final point: Don't forget that from time to time, your own aggression will start showing. As you probably are aware, your hostile feelings and how you deal with them make a story no less complex and touchy than the one just presented. That your anger may be righteous and justified is not the only issue. You must ask yourself some questions: How does my anger make me behave in the classroom? Which (if any) of the behaviors it produces in me seem helpful in reducing youngsters' aggressive feelings, and which ones just make matters worse? Figuring this out requires clear thinking and real objectivity, but it is worth the effort. Your professional obligation is to handle your own aggression in such a way that the individual pupil or the class can manage the spillover effect.

Discipline as Self-Direction

John Greene

RANKING consistently high as a major concern of new or experienced teachers is the handling of their students. School administrators, too, are vitally concerned with teacher-pupil relationships—the teacher's methods of discipline and control as well as other interpersonal exchanges between teacher and student. Good teachers and administrators do not think of discipline as a behind-the-woodshed technique; on the contrary, it is more a matter of an understanding and a personal concern for the child and the greater fulfillment of that child's aptitudes, abilities, and aspirations in our society. Furthermore, it is mandatory for every child to learn that society has an operational framework in which he lives with himself and others. Children as well as adults must play by the rules and obey the laws. Without the expectancies of such behavior on the part of everyone, life would be chaotic. In the school, the classroom would be taken over by the strongest and loudest children. To transcend the mere preservation of society, each one must accept his fair share of responsibility for the betterment of mankind as he lives with himself and others.

The dignity and worth of the individual is a basic value of our society. Yet the individual is not likely to see himself possessing dignity and worth if he has not been accorded dignity and worth by other human beings in his life. Nor will his self-concept be one of dignity and worth unless he has achieved some degree of self-direction and self-discipline. With a positive feeling about himself and the accompanying self-control, the child will increasingly be able to tap his own inner and environmental resources. As he becomes increasingly responsible for his own actions and increasingly clarifies personal purposes, he is more likely to feel positive about himself and his role in this world. Indeed the effect is cumulative; as the individual furthers his own positive self-direction he increasingly contributes to society.

Never before in the history of civilization has there been an imperative need for universal self-discipline for the preservation of human freedoms. For the first time in history man has developed instruments through scientific endeavor by which he can destroy himself and civilization. It has been said that man is able to soar into space like a bird and power through the water like a fish but

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has yet to live on this earth like a human being. Therein lies a challenge answerable only as one achieves more self-direction. "The individual with developed rational powers can share deeply in the freedoms his society offers and can contribute most to the preservation of those freedoms." (6) Teachers can contribute in several ways to the search for humanness. Every person wants to do something, and the teacher's task is one of guiding the child's wants and drives into wholesome, productive channels. Furthermore, there is an accumulation of child growth and development knowledge, with techniques for understanding the child, available to the teacher.

Self-Discipline Is Learned

A person does not automatically become more fully self-functioning: the process is learned, and it is gradual. Watch the kindergarten and first-grade children in their homes and at school. They are usually saturated with their own wishes and interests. Their behavior indicates self-centeredness and little or no concern for others. Generally they are highly dependent on mother, father, or some older member of the family. For example:

> Five-year-old Mike went reluctantly into a summer preschool class. His mother worked, and he had never been allowed outside the fence around his yard. As long as he was alone with adults in the classroom, he was at ease. But when the other children came in, Mike did not know what to do. If a child played with a toy, he wanted that toy. If any child talked, he wanted to be heard at the same time.

Such behavior is rather typical for that particular developmental stage; other appropriate behaviors must be learned at subsequent developmental levels if a child is to become more self-directed, more fully functioning. The way we, as teachers and members of society in general, handle and guide a child will be a big influence in his learning the vital truth that he, after all, is "captain of his own ship."

Children's behavior, appropriate and worthwhile, is learned from others. Conversely, inappropriate behaviors are learned from others. The preschool and primary age child identifies first with parents, then with other adults in his environment, including teachers. Children's make-believe dramatizations, such as playing house, being the teacher, and impersonating TV characters, are evidences that they project into the roles of the adults they observe. Thus, the kinds of persons we are as adults and the ways children perceive our roles will influence their behavior. Recent research by Benjamin Bloom (3) as well as the thinking of specialists in early childhood education—Millie Almy (1), Daniel Prescott (7)—indicates that attitudes toward self and others are learned during these early impressionable years.

At a later stage of development, the elementary school child identifies with his peers and his behavior is highly influenced by the expectations of his age mates. Self-direction then will be more in terms of the codes, mores, and appropriate behavior of his peers. Peer group values become his values; other-directedness instead of self-directedness seems to prevail. Learning to relate effectively to one's peer group is a developmental task of the elementary school child, and the accomplishment of this task is an integral part of his subsequent learning of self-direction.

The word *direction* is most important in the topic, "Discipline as Self-Direction." In order to have direction for oneself, one must have established goals or objectives that serve to give him purpose in life. Individual, purposeful goals are learned, and they are a requisite to attainment of more and more self-direction. Early in life a child begins to see the interconnectedness of factors as he clarifies purpose for himself, as illustrated in the following incident:

> Mary Ann, a 5-year-old, was banging on the living room floor with a hammer as her mother dressed for her day of teaching. The mother-teacher called from her dressing room, "Mary Ann, what are you doing hammering on the floor?"
>
> Mary Ann replied, "It's none of your business."
>
> The mother interrupted her dressing, reflected on Mary Ann's response, went to Mary Ann, placed her hand on her shoulder, and said, "Yes, Mary Ann, as long as you live and as long as I live I will always be interested in you, and what you do will always be some of my business."
>
> Mary Ann stopped her hammering and slowly and reflectively replied, "I see — what 'Bubba' (3-year-old brother) does is some of my business, and what our kitty does is some of my business, too."

Self-direction is learned best when the child is in a setting that fosters such growth. Whether he is at home or in school, it is essential that the environment permit a child to look at his own behavior and modify his actions in terms of meaningful goals. He learns to be alert to directional signals that determine his action and to adjust in a mentally healthy way to outside demands. Necessary to the teaching-learning process is an insightful teacher with his own prevailing purpose based on his more mature judgment of societal demands and human rights. Working with pupils in an atmosphere of guided freedom, he encourages, supports, and releases the child as he is ready to assume responsibility for more and more self-direction.

Basic Needs and Self-Direction

If we are to promote self-discipline or guide children toward more self-direction, it is necessary to understand the role and impact of certain basic emotional needs: security, belonging, and adequacy. If our task is one of guiding behavior and if behavior is the endeavor of a human being to meet these basic needs, their relationship must be understood and utilized.

Security is nourished by a feeling of love—the knowing that someone really cares. The foremost expectation of teachers is that children come to school from homes where they are truly loved by their parents. This provides a security in life that in turn permits the child to have a more positive self-image. He will see the world as a challenging, good place to be and is more likely to reach out, to quest, to hope. His belief in self gives him confidence to set goals for himself, clarify these purposes, and become more inner- or self-directed.

When authorities (4) question a teacher's ability to love or feel obliged to love every child, specifically an unlovable child, the dynamic of love is being interpreted as a highly emotional, unobjective, blind quality that distorts the relationship of teacher and child. Probably a constructive teacher-pupil relationship is more accurately expressed as one of acceptance and respect for every child. Respect begets respect; behavior is a mirror that reflects respect. It is not impossible for a child to think to himself, "You are so busy being what you are that I can't accept what you say you are." The way a teacher feels influences the way he behaves toward the child; the behavior reveals to the child whether his teacher respects, tolerates, or rejects him. Respect is caught rather than taught, and respect usually elicits positive behavior.

> Randy was an unusually small boy who had spent much of his time with his grandparents in Guatemala. When he entered the first grade, he was handicapped by a language barrier and seemed quite uninterested in anything except drawing "muscle men" and monsters. No amount of coaxing could ever entice Randy to finish any other task.
>
> In the second grade, where prime importance was placed upon his value as an individual and upon developing a good self-image, Randy's art began to depict the lighter aspects of childhood. His

> total achievement greatly improved, and he began to engage in many school activities for the first time.
>
> One day as he was working, singing to himself, his teacher asked, "Randy, will you tell me why you are so happy?"
>
> "Oh, yes," he replied. "It's because you are so proud of me!"

This example illustrates the fact that self-discipline is more likely to be accomplished in an atmosphere of security involving respect and a firm belief that human beings can change and change for the better.

Belonging is cultivated—so strong is the human need to be accepted by one's peers. Elementary school children pattern their likes and dislikes to those of the sought-after group. When a child has a feeling of belonging as a result of peer group acceptance, he is likely to feel free and to be open to try out suggestions for more appropriate and worthwhile experiences. However, as long as he is striving for peer group belonging, a child will tailor his actions, speech, dress, and goals to the group whose recognition he is seeking. The result is more other-directed behavior than inner self-direction. Understanding teachers recognize the child's need for belonging, and they intuitively assist in meeting this need. The story of Nicholas, as depicted in Part I of the film *Helping Teachers To Understand Children* (5), illustrates how a teacher can help an elementary student with skills that he needs to attain acceptance and a feeling of belonging to his peer group.

Adequacy is nourished by doing something important and receiving the subsequent recognition for the accomplishment. Every person wishes to do something—not always something goal-directed or worthwhile according to another person's criteria, but *something*. Teachers have limitless opportunities to channel this drive for action toward productive outlets. The task is one of building bridges from that which is important to the child to that which the adult knows the child needs for his own good and that of society. The following anecdote from a teacher tells how an upper elementary boy reflected and gained better self-direction.

> I was observing Edward, one of my sixth-grade students, during physical education period. He was a member of the junior basketball team, but when there was an opportunity he practiced free throws by himself. I had seen him doing this on several occasions.
>
> Today I asked Edward why he was so interested in free throws and whether he were practicing for a contest.
>
> He answered, "No, Coach said the important thing was not winning the game; the real question was, did I play my best for me. So I've been practicing free throws by myself just to see how I can improve."

> "Have you improved any?"
>
> "Yes, I have," he answered. "At first I could make only three out of ten tries at the basket, but now I make an average of seven out of ten."
>
> "That's fine, Edward. You have been competing against yourself, haven't you?" I then asked him if he could see the relationship between improving himself in free throws with the ball and improving himself in science.
>
> He appeared to be in a pensive mood for about a minute and then said, "I guess I should learn science because I'm interested in it and so I should learn more about it. I guess I shouldn't be trying to beat other kids by trying for the best grade but just do the best I can. Like Coach said — do the best for me."

Accomplishment of something that is important to the doer brings an inner feeling of adequacy. A knowledgeable, insightful teacher raises a child's level of aspiration by capitalizing on a child's basic drive for adequacy.

For clarity the three aforementioned basic emotional needs — security, belonging, and adequacy — have been developed separately. In reality they reach fulfillment only as they are enmeshed in the life of a human being. If these needs are met, a child usually feels more positive about himself and his private world. A positive self-image is a prerequisite to productive, worthwhile self-direction.

Guidelines

There are neither fool-proof rules that work in all situations nor conditions that provide easy access to the goal of self-discipline and self-direction. However, there are some basic concepts that will assist the teacher in making decisions as he works with children and provides opportunities for learning self-guidance.

- Every child is an individual as unique as his fingerprints.
- Every child has basic human needs.
- A child's every act is caused; there are underlying multiple reasons for his behavior that are complex, interrelated, and intrarelated with his basic needs.
- Every child wants to do something — and the teacher's task is one of insightful guidance of the child toward positive, self-fulfilling behavior.
- Every child has dignity and worth.
- Every child becomes more self-directed when supported by a climate of guided freedom.

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Giving Faces to the Faceless

Jean E. Mizer

YOU KNOW how they walk before you, an unexpected troop, in a sudden hushed pause of a busy day or in the space of drifting between sleep and waking. You know how they come, surging through your memory, all the bright young faces and the bright young laughter and the bright young eagerness from the remembered rooms, the parade of remembered classes. You know how well you recall so many of them. You never forget the terribly anxious or the slow learners you pushed and encouraged and worried over. You can match the names and faces of the flashing ones, the gay and gifted who lit your day with the spark of their facile minds. You remember them—well and proudly.

Yet there are those you have forgotten: the great, solid mass who have filled the center of your classrooms, the group to whom you've theoretically directed your teaching, the unexciting, predictable, almost interchangeable middle-of-the-roaders. These are the faceless in memory.

The ambivalence of our attitude toward the average child is plain in the contradiction within the lip service we pay him. We speak of him as "the good solid citizen—the salt of the earth," then deny even that careless homage by saying, "They're just average, so don't expect too much." The denial is carried over into direct action as the "C" (or average) of standard grading systems is increasingly equated with poor performance in our too grade-conscious school society. Those whose scores fall in the median range on the standardized test are no longer looked upon as good college material, but rather as students who may possibly succeed in college—with enough effort.

We are so busy helping the poor students and spurring on the gifted that the great middle group is vastly neglected. Too often, their potential is ignored. Evidence that I had been guilty in this respect struck me like a blow in the face recently. I had heard a forceful, interesting dinner speaker who was introduced as the "Potato Prince." He had about him the aura of success and tremendous self-confidence.

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At the end of the session, he plowed through the audience to pump my hand. "Remember me? Middle row, end seat, English C?" With enough cueing, I began to remember a vague face, a vague name. This run-of-the-mill student of mine had become a potato-grader specialist, a product innovator, and finally a market master.

"How did you ever get interested in potatoes?" I gasped weakly.

He looked at me gravely, the boy I used to know not quite hidden now by the facade of impeccable tie and expensive suit. "You remember, don't you, that Dad put his whole farm into spuds? I grew up with them. The year after I left high school one of the harvest sorters told me about a course in college called food technology. . . ."

The school hadn't told him about food technology, that much I knew. Traditionally, we haven't handed college specialist materials to the "just average" very often.

It's time to ask some questions about the average child. What's average? Who sets the standard? Upon what basis? Are people born average or made average? Is it possible that the standard curriculum in the standard pattern of the standard school is creating the standard average? Is deadly conformity, reinforced by the stigma of failure and suppression of creativity, enforcing just-get-by functioning upon the sensitive, the unawakened, and the fearful?

Montaigne, with the farseeing vision of the great mind, prescribed the antidote to the poisoning of the young mind with dullness. He pointed out that the tutor must free himself of the "don't think, don't question" attitude in his teaching; that he must stop eternally thundering in his pupil's ears as though pouring into a funnel; that he must encourage the learner to do most of the speaking; and that he must lead him to recognize learning as seeking—through observation, through questioning, through reading with an inquiring mind. Otherwise, Montaigne pointed out, "if you don't arouse the appetite and affection (for learning), you make nothing but so many asses loaded with books." Today, Montaigne's old wine is being served in many new bottles as experimental and theoretical plans of education spring up all around. Nevertheless, we go on making the same old errors in the actual practice of teaching: We load down the "just average" students with a pocketful of facts and turn them loose on a less than eager world.

Sometimes we manage to whet an appetite by sheer chance or good luck. Take, for example, the day I was riffling idly through a set of free-association paragraphs when suddenly a scrawled huddle of words blazed up at me. I read them again and over again. They were fresh and beautiful, and I was furious that the stolid, muscle-bound junior had dared copy them sitting right before me. I hauled him in the next morning before school. A guardian angel kept me from chewing him to bits, and I merely said, "Here's a new topic. Write."

He looked at me in blank amazement, but bent his head in the little-boy obedience we teach and scowled at the paper. Laborious words limped from his slow pen, until at last he worriedly handed me a brief passage. It was ungrammatical and misspelled, but it was as alive and vibrant as sun on dancing waters. I stood ashamed before him and stuttered out my pleasure. He was greatly embarrassed.

The amazed English department made a project of Gerry. He read miserably. He couldn't spell. He had a forever record of middling grades and no interests beyond the physical. We found that he came from a home where no one read or owned a book.

Gerry was dumbfounded by the great winds of interest and attention that six teachers blasted at him, but his quiet eyes began to sparkle and he brought labored writing efforts to us with increasing pride. He worked. Before school and after football he struggled with the English language. He read hungrily and he began to talk — bursts of reaction over the telephone to the magic of words or sudden off-the-subject blurts of enthusiasm in the classroom.

At the year's end, Gerry's reading rate was up to 200 words a minute; his vocabulary had flowered; his writing had developed form and substance to match its vibrance. By June the local newspaper was glad to hire him for the summer. He made college on athletic scholarships and dogged determination, and is now on the staff of a big magazine where he's doing all of us proud.

A lucky chance, and the "just average" grew into the realization of excellence. How many other bright talents and potentially keen minds are stifled by endless assignments to "Answer the questions at the end of the chapter"?

Two sensible and obvious paths lie before us in the teaching of average children. First, we must stop branding the child with last year's grades and a three-year-old IQ score. Each new year and each new class must offer him an opened door through which he can glimpse the unknown.

He must be free to decide for himself whether or not he'll walk through that door and once he's on the other side, the teacher must not place him in the niche her preconceived notions suggested the first day he walked into the class. To place the many-faceted, shifting shades of personality that constitute a human being into one neat box marked "average" is ridiculous. The question is never whether the middle-of-the-group child possesses sleeping potential, but rather which stimulus will awaken it.

Second, we must revamp our stereotyped thinking about children. As teachers, we need to come to an appreciation of quality in children as people. We must give *average* a new connotation — a meaning of stability, competence, balance. We must give the average child pride in his important role as a member of the indispensable group on which our democratic society is built.

The average child deserves a brighter promise for self-development and a better status for what he has already achieved. He deserves stimulation and appreciation — both of which have the magic quality of giving faces to the faceless.

Be Talent Developers

Calvin W. Taylor

NEARLY all students are talented; that is, can be above average in at least one of the many important intellectual talents we can now measure. Furthermore, with appropriate changes in teaching, they can use multiple talents to acquire knowledge in the classroom. In fact, they can exercise and develop every one of the known intellectual talents as their minds ponder, toy with, and otherwise process knowledge. Each of these different talents can function in acquiring knowledge across all subject matter areas.

If the complexity of talents, however, is *not* recognized and students are seen through the over-simplified picture of only one talent, then they will all be lined up from highest to lowest, solely on the basis of that single talent. They may almost be pegged by teachers and students as to where they belong.

For example, Sharon, a beginning seventh grader, had consistently obtained high grades and had always done exactly what she was asked to do and in a manner pleasing to her teachers. However, her schoolmate David did not like typical school assignments and was just average or below on activities requiring academic talent.

When they were viewed across two talents instead of only one, strikingly different pictures emerged; their profiles across the two talents had quite opposite shapes. In a productive- and creative-thinking classroom where students were to be thinkers — not mere learners — Sharon's initial outward performances in the thinking activities and discussions could have been scored zero. Eventually, after many sessions of this type, she learned to participate and became a functioning, though somewhat below average, student in this productive-thinking classroom.

David, on the other hand, promptly showed great talent in thinking activities and in matching wits with anyone, including more than 15 teacher-observers one day. In this teacher-student situation, he suggested several surprising ways to vary the ongoing activities. As a result, the teacher-observers changed into participants on the same status level as the students and began dealing with them as equals. Both groups then communicated freely and frankly during a wholesome cathartic session, full of excitement and laughter.

After several highly successful performances in this new type of classroom, David indicated that he did not particularly like to read and write, but obviously he loved to learn by thinking and having lively exchanges with others. In such sessions he was a leader — socially as well as intellectually — demonstrating a great deal of thinking-talent power.

At the end of one session, we all examined David's entire elementary school record. He had started out as a B+ student and had faded to C− as schoolwork became more highly academic and less thought-provoking and own-idea-generating in nature.

The school system had continually told David that he was an unpromising person without talent and that he should prepare to drop out. Yet his performance in a thinking classroom showed that he was highly talented in an important area of talent. Furthermore, David was the only student who dickered about how much he and others would be paid for leaving their playgrounds and working with us a few days during summer vacation. He showed great promise of being a very effective person in world-of-work activities involving thinking and exchanging ideas with others. Overall, David is probably more promising for a competitive adult career than Sharon, who is efficient at getting good grades in a closely supervised, learning-regurgitating type of system where she never has to produce and display ideas of her own.

There is merit in further extending profiles to include a third type of talent. Another boy, Clarence, not only made good grades but, unlike Sharon, also displayed a high degree of talent in generating ideas in the productive-thinking classroom. But a third type of classroom activity, calling for evaluative or decision-making talent, gave him much difficulty, especially in dealing with his own ideas, in judging which ones were good and which ones should be discarded.

Thus, his high profile lasted across only two talents, dropping in the third, decision-making.

In sharp contrast, Sally had been slightly below the middle of the class both in typical academic activities and in those demanding productive-thinking talent. However, when it came to judging ideas and making good, even wise, decisions, Sally possessed a talent strength that enabled her to select among ideas much more efficiently than could most students — including Clarence, the high idea-producer. She, like David, was high in at least one talent area. But we had to profile Sally across three talents to discover her strong talent in the priceless wisdom area.

For a third of a century, research on intellectual talents has clearly shown that we have talents of many different types, not just one academic (or "general intelligence") type. Nonetheless, this evidence can be quite a shocker to those with an overgeneralized and fixed idea about what a general intelligence test measures.

Thurstone and his students discovered the first 20 primary mental abilities. Guilford greatly extended these through his periodic table of the mind (the Structure of Intellect) with its 120 possible talents, more than 80 of which have now been discovered. From this up-to-date view, typical intelligence tests cover no more than eight talents, about one-tenth of those now known — therefore, intelligence tests do *not* cover the other nine-tenths now measurable.

We suggest a grouping of talents, based upon world-of-work needs, specifying at present only academic talent and five other often extremely important types: creative (and productive) talent, evaluative or decision-making talent, planning talent, forecasting talent, and communication talent.

If we limit ourselves to measuring students by one talent alone, we will find that only the top 10 percent are highly gifted. But if we measure across several different talents, the percent of highly gifted will increase tremendously. Across three talents, the percent of gifted in at least one talent area will, in fact, more than double; across six talents the percent of highly gifted will triple.

When we arrange a group of students on each of several talent ladders, those at the bottom of the old academic talent ladder — those heretofore labeled "educationally deprived" — will rise as a subgroup to be almost average as far as each of the other five types of talents are concerned. A third or more of them are likely to be above average on each new talent ladder. Since we have not been reaching these students, we should try eliciting as many different talents as possible. If we succeed, then those who had not been flourishing in the old talent area will discover some areas where they are promising individuals and perhaps even star performers.

If we limit ourselves to cultivating merely one talent, only 50 percent of our students will have a chance to be above the average (the median) in classes. If we consider two lowly related talents, the percent above average in at least one of the two talents will be about 67 percent; for three talents, in the mid 70's;

for four talents, in the low 80's, and so on. Across six talents, about 90 percent will be above average and almost all others will be nearly average in at least one talent area. Therefore, *almost all students will be above average* in at least one talent area. (In addition, almost everyone will learn that he is below average in at least one talent area.)

Now that we know how to measure and foster multiple talents, our challenge is to find ways of cultivating most of them in school instead of letting them lie largely dormant.

Talent searches should occur right in the classroom; they take no extra time. And students can almost automatically acquire greater knowledge if they use multiple talents rather than focus directly and solely on learning facts — as they are so often asked to do. Having many pathways through their complex nervous systems, students can use several different internal talents at one time or another to process knowledge during their school week. Each student will thereby discover the talent in which he most excels. Then, whenever he desires, he can use his one highest-level talent as his own best way of acquiring knowledge.

There have always been some teachers who are talent developers — who activate human resources. Emerging from research, this multiple talent approach features all teachers as catalysts in more effectively developing individual talents in the following ways: by sharpening their abilities to *identify* student talents, by increasing their skills to *cultivate* student talents, and by *deliberately working* across a greater number of student talents than was ever before possible. For teachers, the talent developer role is becoming more important while their role as knowledge dispensers may be diminishing.

Teachers must use a different approach to foster each type of talent. They can learn about their own profiles of teaching for each type of talent. One teacher, for example, may be an outstanding developer of decision-making talent but only average as a developer of academic talent and below average as a developer of creative talent. Another may be best in catalyzing creative talents, and a third teacher may be truly excellent in developing academic talents. Different teachers could specialize to become experts in developing particular talents — students could then study under each of these separate talent specialists.

Educational programs could be evaluated by determining (a) how much students have achieved in terms of experiencing the entire keyboard of their minds — the full range of their talent potentialities, and (b) how much they have gained in subject matter mastery. (This double perspective, incidentally, might warn us that much of the type of programed instruction typically being developed is probably narrowing the band of talents currently being cultivated.) A greater positive spread effect or transfer of training may occur through the talents developed than through the knowledge acquired. Nonetheless, multiple talent teaching capitalizes on both to increase the total transfer of training into later situations and provides the best basis available for a potent educational revolution.

But the main goal in multiple talent teaching is to have students use more talents than they do at present. The creative (and productive) type of talent is the one most ready to expand the narrow band of talents with which we now concern ourselves. To show teachers how to teach for creativity, our traveling task force team has given in-service workshops in several states. Eventually, we have the teachers do their own demonstrations of teaching for productive and creative processes in students.

We have already done the necessary "educational engineering" work by changing many tests for creative and for communication talents into a booklet of classroom exercises and by incorporating appropriate subject matter into each one. Effective classroom technologies for these two talent areas are therefore available and are being used by many teachers in Granite, Jordan, Davis County, and Iron County school districts in Utah, in Laramie, Wyoming, and in the large, important Project Impact in Polk County, Iowa.

Think what multiple talent teaching means! Regardless of the limitations of IQ, cultural background, or other learning inhibitors, this approach provides the possibility that 9 out of 10 children in a class can employ at least one talent with above-average efficiency both for acquiring knowledge and for solving problems. An exciting thought, indeed. This student-centered, talent-focused approach holds the best hope of systematically reaching each and every student in our classrooms and of finding promise in all students from all parts of our society, a partial fulfillment of one of the great American dreams.

When potentials in both creative and academic talents are viewed, colleges will face a new problem, the unmet challenge of the creative students. We appear to be in sore need of a new college planned for the creatively talented as a small start toward counterbalancing our more than 2,800 colleges and universities for the academically talented. Predicted percentile ranks in creative talent and in academic talent, respectively, on the Alpha Biographical Inventory for 34 students applying to Wilmington

College in North Carolina were, at one extreme, 83-21 and 95-54 and, at the other extreme, 29-64 and 42-82.

The total annual loss of nearly a half million high school graduates who are talented in one way or another but fail to get into college is estimated from a North Carolina study. The study identified those in the top quarter on creative potential but in the bottom 60 percent on predicted academic talent. The first score is *not* oriented toward present schools, but is designed to predict creative and productive performance in one's life career. Furthermore, evidence to date on whites and Negroes indicates that this new score is racially unbiased and culturally fair.

If we apply the multiple talent approach in the educational process, greater numbers of our students will be more successful both in and out of school. A natural by-product will be an increase in each student's individuality. Each will experience and display his own unique profile across talents and will thus become more self-directed. Talents quite appropriately come at the center rather than at the periphery of our focus, for it takes talented people to solve our most difficult problems and to create a better world.

We are always heartened to find how remarkably ready students are to participate as soon as we bring each new talent adventure to them — they are our greatest asset. We must, therefore, no longer allow most of their talents to remain virtually submerged. Nor should we deprive them of the exciting opportunities and rewards that can be theirs through the awakening and strengthening of their creative and other talent powers.

The Slow Learner...

What Are His Characteristics and Needs?

Merle B. Karnes

SLOW learners are children who learn at a less rapid rate than the normal but not as slowly as the educable mentally retarded. They are sometimes referred to as dull-normal or intellectually backward children. One criterion in determining whether or not a child is a slow learner is his intelligence quotient, which may range anywhere from 75 to 90.

In addition to a slow rate of learning, the following characteristics are attributed to slow learners as a group. (Not all slow learners, of course, possess all these characteristics, but it is important to consider them in planning an instructional program for these children.)

- The slow learner tends to have more physical defects than the average child. Defects of hearing and speech may interfere with a child's learning. One possible reason for more physical defects among slow learners is that a large percentage come from low-income families where prenatal and postnatal care is inadequate. In addition, when there is a weakness or defect in one area, it is common to find defects in other areas of development. In contrast, an intellectually gifted child is likely to be superior in all aspects of development. Referral to agencies and community resources available to assist the family in correcting physical defects of the child is important.

- The slow learner is consistently below grade level in academic progress. Even when the slow learner is working at a level commensurate with his mental age, he can be expected to achieve only about the seventh or eighth grade level when he is 16. He can learn more, but the material to be learned cannot be more difficult. Also, the range of individual differences among slow learners increases with age. Usually, the slow learner lags further and further behind his more able peers, making it more and more difficult for the school to differentiate instruction to meet his specific needs. The higher up the educational ladder this child goes, the more difficulty the school has in changing the regular curriculum to accommodate his slow rate of learning.

- The slow learner's reasoning ability is poorer than that of the normal child. He is slow to see cause and effect relationships, to make inferences, to draw logical and valid conclusions, to transfer learning, and to generalize.

Slow learners need meaningful educational experiences geared to their stage of development and ample opportunity to develop reasoning skills. They also need much teacher guidance in order to see meaningful associations. A multisensory approach seems to be particularly appropriate in making learning experiences more concrete. The quality of learning experiences is far more important to the slow learner than the quantity of experiences.

- Short attention span seems to typify this group of children. However, the short attention span is often due to poor instruction rather than to a defect in the slow learner. When materials are interesting and when success is possible, the attention span of the slow learner tends to be adequate.

- Poor retention is still another weakness of slow learners. Slow learners are noticeably below par in both immediate and delayed memory. They need more repetition to reinforce learning. With slow learners, overlearning is especially important. It is crucial that these children have opportunities to practice skills and to use knowledge in various meaningful contexts to ensure permanency of learning.

- Unlike brighter children, slow learners do not learn incidentally as a rule. If they are not specifically taught, they are unlikely to learn by themselves. Those learnings felt to be important to current and future academic success and adjustments must never be left to chance but must be taught systematically and sequentially. Careful planning by the teacher is a must to facilitate learning among slow learners.

- Poor work habits and poor motivation to learn characterize slow learners, who find it difficult to persist independently until a task is completed. Activities should be carefully chosen so that success is possible and so that a minimum amount of time is required for the completion of a task. Recognition for completion of tasks is important to encourage future efforts. The complexities of the task and the amount of time necessary for completion can be increased as the slow learner matures and progresses.

- Slow learners respond to immediate goals rather than to delayed ones. These children must see a reason here and now for engaging in a task. A reward or gratification that is postponed for a week or a month is meaningless. For example, learning arithmetic makes sense to slow learners who need to know arithmetic facts to hold their jobs in certain work-study programs. When they see no immediate tangible need for learning the facts, they are not likely to apply themselves.

- The slow learner has poorly developed language and communication skills. He needs many opportunities to practice language. He learns by talking about meaningful, firsthand experiences involving what he has seen, what he has heard, what he has done, and what he plans to do.

He needs a stimulating school environment where he has many things to talk about. In this way, he increases his vocabulary and improves in his ability to communicate ideas to others. The greater his facility in the use of words, the more effective his thinking will become.

- Socially and emotionally, slow learners tend to be less mature than their brighter peers. Approximately 50 percent have poor personal adjustment. Many are discipline problems. They have considerable difficulty controlling their emotions and perceiving how their actions affect others. Acquiring social competence is an important goal for these children throughout their school attendance. They need more counseling services to help them to understand themselves as well as to set realistic goals for themselves. Especially, they need more vocational guidance. The slow learners need teachers who accept them and who provide a warm, friendly atmosphere where they can feel secure and have a sense of belonging.

- Slow learners feel less confident and less adequate than average children. To build up feelings of adequacy and personal worth, it is essential to give them immediate feedback as to the correctness of their responses. They need more praise and encouragement than their brighter peers. Tangible evidence of progress should be made available in such forms as graphs, positive notes to pupil and parents, positive verbal evaluations by teachers and other pupils, positive comparisons of present work with previous.

- They have a hard time following directions. This problem presents considerable difficulty in school. Since their memory spans are comparatively short, the teacher should make sure that the directions he gives are specific and definite. He should consider carefully how many directions to give at any one time and keep them within each child's ability to follow them successfully.

- Slow learners are not as curious and creative as their more able peers. Since achievement and creative thinking have a high correlation, slow learners should be encouraged to develop their creative abilities, especially in language and thinking. They should be encouraged to ask questions and to think through various ways of solving problems. In addition, self-expression through art and music activities can provide outlets that are satisfying and rewarding to them.

- A large percentage of slow learners come from disadvantaged homes. These homes often have a multiplicity of problems that affect the child's adjustment. Referral to social agencies can often improve home conditions and thereby help provide the slow learner with an improved atmosphere for learning.

  A poor environment can depress a child's intellectual functioning. Teaching parents how to assist their slow learner in developing his potential to the fullest should be a goal of any educational program for slow learners.

- Slow learners are capable of being followers but have limited leadership potentials. Schools must aim to help slow learners make valid decisions as to whom they wish to follow. Learning to be good followers is important to them, especially in achieving personal objectives and democratic goals.

Identification of the slow learner should begin early. As a general rule, slow learners are slow in beginning to sit, walk, and talk. While the IQ derived from an individual intelligence test administered by a qualified person is possibly the best single index of a slow rate of learning, it by no means should be considered infallible. Furthermore, in many instances, a psychologist will not be available to administer an individual intelligence test to slow learners. Group intelligence tests, supplemented by cumulative records, information from parents, and objective teacher observations based on a checklist of characteristics of slow learners, can identify almost every slow learner.

Despite their lowered intellectual potential, slow learners are not a homogeneous group. Each has his desires, goals, skills, and differences that make him a unique individual. Planning, programing for, and educating slow learners requires an individualized approach. With such an approach, slow learners can learn academic skills essential for effective daily living. It is up to the schools to respond to the challenge.

Disturbed Youngsters in the Classroom

William C. Morse

JOHN can make a shambles of my classroom. The only way I can get anyplace talking with him is away from the group. Then he explains very clearly why he does various things. He usually admits that they were dumb things to do, but there is no carry-over. He already has a court record.

"And then there are Beth and George. Beth is so quiet and dreamy that she seems here only when I press her with questions and then she drifts away. George is another story. His conversations are non sequiturs. He asks the strangest questions—and always with a worried look. The psychologist has referred him for intensive treatment, but there is a long waiting list. Most of the time I can almost keep on top of the situation, but there are days when I don't seem to be getting anywhere."

An experienced teacher was describing her classroom. Almost any teacher in almost any school could paint a similar picture, and although the percentage of Johns, Beths, and Georges in the typical classroom is small, it does not take huge numbers of disturbed youngsters to create a critical mass that can confound a teacher and convert a classroom to chaos.

What can a teacher do that will be helpful to the disturbed children in the classroom and at the same time will keep them from disrupting the rest of the class? Source books are not available for teaching attitudes, values, identification, or empathic behavior. Advice ranges from the assured behavior modifiers who direct the teacher to "train" the pupils to the proponents of a leave-them-alone-and-they'll-all-come-home-to-Summerhill philosophy.

These answers are too simple. If the schools are to meet their responsibility toward all children, teachers and schools must change. Teachers need to understand what causes the disturbed children in their classes to be that way. They need to develop new teaching skills and to find new ways of using resources. School systems need to look for new ways to use the resources—the time, space, techniques, and personnel—now available and to add new resources.

Understanding Disturbed Pupils

Some children are disturbed both in their home-community life and in school. Their difficulties are pervasive—with them wherever they go. For example, many a youngster who is rejected and unwanted in his family feels the same way in school.

In other children, disturbance shows up at home or at school but not in both situations. Ralph, for instance, is a skilled leader on the playground and in his neighborhood and gets along reasonably well in his fatherless home. He chafes under the pressure of school routines, however. He is in constant contest with conformity demands and has no interest in school learning. Generally speaking, he is happy-go-lucky and forgets a school disciplinary episode almost before it is over.

Other children who feel supported and do very well in school have difficulties elsewhere. The school is sometimes central in problem behavior and sometimes peripheral, but the aim is to make the school compensatory whenever possible.

The behavior symptoms a child displays are not an automatic revelation of the causes of that behavior. To plan effectively for a disturbed child, the teacher needs not only to see accurately what the youngster does but to understand why he does it. This requires the teacher to do some diagnostic thinking and to gain the ability to see life through the eyes of the pupil.

Let us apply diagnostic thinking first to pupils who are aggressive toward peers, perhaps toward the teacher, and even toward school requirements—pupils who display what is called "acting-out behavior." Children with this broad range of symptoms are the most frequent referrals to special services and special classes. They may provoke fights, break rules, and generally defy the teacher. Older youngsters often turn sullen and hostile. Acting-out children prevent others from working, may react with an outburst if required to conform, and are ready to rebel at a moment's notice.

Since this type of behavior can make conducting classes impossible, no one should be surprised that teachers find it the most vexing difficulty.

When teachers explore beyond the generalized acting-out symptoms, they find some common patterns.

Sometimes aggressiveness results from a lack of adequate socialization. Our culture is producing increasing numbers of children who have never developed social concerns for others, who still function on an impulse basis, doing what they want to do when they feel like it. For one reason or another they lack a suitable prototype for basic identification. Sometimes they take on an omnipotent character—"No one can make me." At best they are narcissistic, bent on following their own desires; at worst they are without the capacity to feel for others. They practice a primitive hedonism.

Sometimes, these children come from indulgent, protective families and become embittered when crossed. When one is asked why he did something, he is likely to say, "I felt like it," until he learns it goes over better to say that he doesn't know why.

Because his delinquent and destructive behavior may stem from a lack of incorporated norms and values, the child with a defect in socialization needs a benign but strong surveillance, so that he is held accountable for misbehavior. He requires clear and specific limits, enforced without anger or harshness. At the same time, he needs models, such as a "big brother," teachers, and older youths, to set an example of proper behavior.

The process of rehabilitation of the unsocialized child is slow and rough, with many periods of regression, because the school is asking the child to give up immediate gratification for long-term goals and to replace self-seeking with consideration for the rights of others. Frequently these youngsters make their first attachment to a single strong teacher and will comply only with his demands. Generalized trust builds slowly. Substantial correction, especially at adolescence, is most difficult. Since the school is the major conformity agent of society, it becomes the natural battleground.

A subgroup among the aggressive children is composed of youngsters who lack social skills but have the capacity to learn them because they have been cared about and loved at home, even though their families have been too disorganized to teach adequate behavior. They are not so much anticonforming as they are untutored in social skills. Role playing and demonstrations by models are useful to show such children the behavior expected of them.

While the reduction of acting-out behavior through teaching basic socialization is difficult, teachers still must try. Learning to value the rights of others is essential for members of a democratic society and recent follow-up studies indicate that neither individual treatment nor institutional custody is a satisfactory approach for such youth.

Another common cause of acting-out behavior is alienation. Estrangement from the educational establishment is occurring more and more frequently. Sometimes, from their very first day, these students find no gratification in the school experience, and their disinterest turns to hostility. The teacher sees these youngsters as problems in motivation. "They just don't seem to care about anything they should be doing."

For the most part, these are not weak children, and they are often well-accepted by peers outside of school. Having found life engaging elsewhere, they can't wait to get at it. One sixth grader had already figured out the number of days until he could quit school. Cars, money, the opposite sex, jobs—these are high demands of the alienated adolescent.

Youngsters like this are usually first admonished, then suspended to "shape them up." Suspension actually works in reverse, since they want out in the first place. If the youngsters are not suspended, too many teachers handle the problem by demanding nothing and letting them do just about as they please.

The better way of resolving the difficulty would be to undertake a thorough examination of the curriculum to see what could be altered. A junior high school pupil, already conducting a profitable business of his own, found nothing in classes with any meaning to him. With visions of establishing himself as an adult, he finally ran away with his girl friend.

Education is turning off an increasing number of able and intellectual youths. Such disenchantment was evidenced first at the college level, but it has already seeped down to the junior high. Many young people feel that school is a meaningless scramble for grades and graduation instead of the authentic education experience they seek. What often needs to be done is to make over the school rather than the pupil, but some teachers still rigidly follow the current curriculum as though it were sacred.

In some children, acting-out behavior in school is reaction to failure. No one wants to fail or even be in a marginal position, and yet thousands get failure messages every school day. The child comes to hate the establishment that makes him a failure, so he strikes back. Some failed first at home, where nothing they did was as good as what a sibling did—where no matter how hard they tried, they failed. The hatred such children feel for adults at home may transfer to their teachers, who may never have been in the least unfair.

The amount of defiling and belittling, to say nothing of direct abuse, that children suffer in our supposedly child-favoring culture comes as a shock to many a protected teacher. If the cause of acting-out behavior is in the home, then acting out in school is merely a displacement, but the acting-out child gets a reputation that is passed along ahead of him and he lives up to it.

School can be too taxing for certain children, grading too severe, and teacher's help too scarce. Although they get along well at home, children with mild learning disabilities or limited academic ability frequently drift into frustration at school. Some of the slow-developing early primary pupils or late-blooming adolescents in junior high are too immature to meet expectations. The solution is for the school to adjust to the pupil by proper pacing. Many of these pupils change surprisingly when a perceptive teacher builds in success.

Still other children who act out are anxious about their lives in general. Often they are hyperactive, driven to release tension through physical activity. They are oversensitive, easily distracted, and given to disruptive behavior. After misbehaving, they feel guilty and promise never to repeat the offense, but in a subsequent period of anxiety they do repeat it, acting out in order to dissipate tension.

Some of this group actually seek punishment because they feel they are bad and should pay the penalty. This feeling of guilt may stem from wrong things they have done or merely thought of doing. For instance, one boy, who was being stimulated by a seductive mother, used to blow up in math class, where concentration was required. He could do the math, but not when he was upset. It took the social worker a long time to help him work this out.

A special category of anxiousness, found with increasing frequency in suburbia, is achievement neurosis. In order to meet overt or covert expectations, pupils who have this affliction feel compelled to be on top. They have lost the satisfaction of learning as its own reward; grades are to prove they are as good as their parents want them to be. These youngsters are frequently tense and driven and overvalue the academic. Their parents are forever inquiring, "How well is John doing?"

Children who are driven in this way need to be made to feel better about themselves. Some of them demand much attention, always seeking resubstantiation by adult approval. If the source of the damaged self-picture is an overdemanding home or neighborhood, it is often difficult to provide enough compensatory success in school to allay it. This is where counselors, psychiatrists, psychologists, school social workers, or referral agencies play their part.

By now it is easy to see why any two acting-out children may not need the same type of help from the teacher. But teachers' concerns are not limited to those who directly disrupt the educational process, for the profession is equally attuned to pupils who have given up. While withdrawn children may not cause the teacher managerial difficulty, they, too, are in need of special assistance.

Many unhappy, depressed youngsters are in school today. Basically, these youngsters have very low self-esteem; they have somehow been taught by life that they are good-for-nothing and important to nobody. Often, internal preoccupation takes over, and they drift into a world of fantasy. They absorb the support sensitive teachers give, but often this is not sufficient to strengthen them to a point where they can sustain themselves.

Sometimes students are confirmed losers. They just know they will fail and usually contrive to make their anticipations come true. Others come to rely on fate rather than on their own efforts. As one youngster put it: "Fifty-fifty, I pass or I flunk. It depends on the breaks." So why put forth any effort?

Another group of the withdrawn children are the lonely ones. The loner drifts by himself at recess or eats alone in the junior high cafeteria or has no one to talk to about his high school lessons. Because he feels that nobody would care, he sees no point in trying to make friends. Many youngsters who are scapegoats in their peer group come from among the lonely ones, especially if they have some physical problem such as overweight, a tic, or odd looks. In these cases, the way the teacher manages the group life in the classroom is just as important as individual attention and counseling.

Dealing with Disturbed Pupils

No magic, no single cure, no shortcut will solve the problems of disturbed children in the schools. The job demands an extension of the individualization that is the essence of good school practice. This calls for teacher time and specially planned curricular experiences. To provide these, many school systems will add a new resource—the psychological, social-work, or psychiatric consultant. Conflict between specialists and regular classroom teachers used to be commonplace, but teachers have now discovered a new way to use the specialists' help, replacing long discourses on "how Johnny got that way" with discussions of what can be done now, in the classroom.

Frequently, a curriculum expert and the principal should join the teacher and the special consultant in discussions about a disturbed child. Remedial action should be based on study of the deviant youngster's classroom behavior and of his basic personality. Clinical insights provide the backdrop for practical planning.

When the problem is caused not by the school but by the child's home situation, the remedial goal is to have the school provide a supportive environment that will compensate, in part, for what is lacking or negative. Referral services to agencies that can offer individual therapy are vital also. They are not enough, however. Group work agencies, boys' clubs, and big brothers can help the unsocialized child who does not have serious internal conflicts. Such a child is in dire need of basic identification building.

Many disturbed children who can function within normal bounds and utilize the regular classroom much of the time lapse occasionally into disruptive behavior that throws the classroom into chaos. Some schools—secondary as well as elementary—deal with this problem by having a special teacher, trained to work with the disturbed in both academic and behavioral spheres, to whom such a child goes during a crisis. This teacher works with him in a special classroom where he can receive assistance on both individual and small group bases.

While the issue is still current, the crisis teacher and the child discuss the matter, much after the fashion of crisis intervention in community mental health. Close liaison with the regular teacher is, of course, mandatory. Referrals to a school or community service for intensive individual work may be needed, but the crisis teacher is the key person to support the regular classroom teacher and the pupil and to coordinate the entire effort in time of stress. When the pupil has gained control and/or is able to do the task in question, he returns to the regular classroom.

Needed Changes

The task is to examine the classroom environment and the teacher's role. What changes will improve the helping index?

No one has any idea of making the teacher into a psychotherapist, although many disturbed students form a profound relationship with their teachers. The function of the teacher is to provide pupils with a reasonable human relationship (in itself therapeutic) and the opportunity to grow through academic accomplishment and social learning.

Achievement is therapeutic for a child, especially when he has achieved little or nothing in the past. Having an adult who cares about him and who helps him when he falters instead of getting angry and rejecting him is certainly helpful. Peer acceptance in the classroom has lasting significance for the lonely child.

In this sense, therapeutic intervention has always been a part of school, but some children need much more. Providing that more will require three things:

1. The schools will have to reexamine how the curriculum, methodology, and experiences can be bent to enhance growth and minimize failure.
2. Teachers will have to learn new skills.
3. Teachers will have to become more open about their feelings toward disturbed children, because externalizing attitudes is a necessary step in changing negative feelings.

Since the school operation itself provokes a considerable amount of school difficulty, what is taught and how it is taught will require adjustment. Pupils need short assignments that interest them and that they are capable of doing. Not only the level of difficulty but the rate of learning should be attuned to the child, with provision for remedial teaching of what he has missed.

Individualization for the alienated youngster requires new subject matter that is relevant rather than merely different. Some children with learning disabilities require the use of self-tutoring devices. Iconoclastic curriculums, such as cooperative work programs for older youths, are needed.

Although most behaviorists avoid considering disturbed children in any but symptomatic terms, they offer the teacher two most useful guidelines.

First, they tell teachers to study what the child actually does. Observation of how and to what the pupil responds often shows that much of what the teacher is doing is quite beside his intent. Many disturbed children are adept at controlling teachers by getting them to make inappropriate responses, thus reinforcing just what the teacher wishes to eliminate. If the pupil cares more about having *some* kind of relationship with the teacher than he does about *what* kind of relationship he has, he can get teacher attention by misbehavior. Thus, a teacher encourages repeat performances of an undesirable behavior even as he tells a pupil not to behave that way.

Second, behaviorists emphasize that many pupils do not operate on the basis of high-level gratifications, such as love of learning. Teachers must deal with them on their own motivational level. For example, the attention span and motivation of some who need concrete rewards suddenly improve when the teacher recognizes this need. Free time earned for work done or proper behavior may help get children started who have never had any real success before. They forget their "can't do" to earn free time. Behavior that approximates being acceptable is worth rewarding at first.

Punishment, the major reward many disturbed children receive, is a poor teaching device. Low grades seldom work as a challenge. Emphasis needs to be on accomplishments rather than on failures. Many teachers, wedded to the illusion of homogeneity, have a hard job learning to help these children achieve by accommodating to the special range they present in ability, rate, motivation, and interests. Sometimes the range can be narrowed. In junior and senior high, for example, a student can be assigned in every course to the teacher and the content best suited to him.

When nothing else works, something may be gained by asking a child to do only what interests him. One pupil studied nothing but the Civil War. Another drew pictures. This was no real solution, but the teacher survived and the other students could do their work. Desperate conditions require desperate measures, and it is better to have a student reading about the Civil War than conducting a war with the teacher.

Teachers of classes that include disturbed children need to be particularly skilled in group management. The capacity to establish a work orientation for the class as a whole that will provide psychological insulation is one of the most critical skills in a class that includes disturbed children. Jacob Kounin and his associates have found out that the same teachers are successful in managing both disturbed and normal students.

These teachers focus on the group and its learning activities, actively solicit feedback, concentrate on more than one thing at a time, and select the proper targets for their interventions. The high degree of involvement reduces negative contagion from the disturbed pupils and provides the needed reserve for the teacher to work out the marginal situations that develop.

The first questions a teacher needs to ask are, "How meaningful is the work to these pupils? Can they do it? Do I understand the various roles and relationships in the class well enough to be able to emphasize the things that will maintain stability instead of reacting in a haphazard way to everything that happens?"

The successful teacher knows how to use grouping itself as a tool.

- Some classroom groups are particularly stable and constitute a reservoir of peer help for the distraught pupil; other groups have such a thin shell of control that one acting-out pupil means a breakdown. If most members of a class offer support, they can calm down a lot of misbehavior as well as serve as models of proper action.
- Pupils whose behavior frightens their own age peers and makes them anxious may not bother slightly older children, so upgrouping a disturbed child may reduce negative group effects.
- Sometimes the size of the group is important. Classes with several disturbed pupils should be smaller than others. In fairly large schools, three or four teachers of the same grade or course can arrange to have one small class for those who need it by making the other classes somewhat larger.
- When a class needs relief from a pupil's disturbing antics, sending the offender to another class for a visit may be helpful. The teacher needs to make advance provisions for doing this. He also needs to know when to intervene in this way and to find out what the child does that makes his classmates anxious and angry.

Of course, any kind of exclusion must be used with extreme care. It would be ill-advised for a youngster who wanted out in the first place, or one who was so fearful as to be traumatized. Sometimes, however, planned exclusion can produce controls in a youngster.

Teachers need to develop skill in talking productively with children. They spend a great deal of time in verbal interaction with their students and, unfortunately, the typical verbal interplay is largely a waste. Fritz Redl has pioneered with what he calls "life-space interviewing," a technique that is particularly well suited to helping the teacher of disturbed children put an end to the undesirable behavior or at least to take steps in that direction.

The content of life-space interviewing focuses on the ego level and the behavior experience in the "life-space" shared by teacher and student. The technique provides an opportunity for diagnostic exploration, mild probing, and planning for the future on the basis of realistic appraisal. First the teacher asks the pupil for his perception of what happened, and then, step by step, examines what can be done to clarify reality. This leads to specific strategies which can serve to reduce recurrences. Of course, not all students will respond, but this style prevents moralizing on the one hand and passive acceptance on the other. The same principles can be used with groups for classroom problem solving.

Classroom problem solving brings up the concept of crisis intervention. Youngsters are most teachable at a time of conflict, when they are searching for a resolution. Being able to use the crisis at hand and knowing how to talk effectively to children are two skills basic to any classroom management of disturbed pupils. Behind this rests a new concept of acceptance. Psychological acceptance means responding to the student in order to facilitate his adopting more acceptable patterns of behavior. This may mean more strict enforcement of regulations, more listening to his concerns, or doing whatever is relevant to his self-concept and nature.

Three qualities seem to be critical in order for a teacher to develop the right interpersonal relationship with disturbed students: strength to stand testing without giving in or becoming hostile, a belief that the youngster can change (this eliminates the self-fulfilling prophesy of failure that many teachers imply, if only on the unconscious level), and a recognition that the classroom is a good place for helping youngsters. Of course, certain teachers seem to have natural talent with particular types of disturbed children. Definitive teachers, for example, are most successful with insurgent pupils, while a quiet teacher may get closer to frightened youngsters.

Disturbed children require an inordinate amount of teacher time, so there is never enough to go around. Several plans have been used to add teacher power. Frequently, children low in confidence and self-esteem benefit from one-to-one sessions, cause no disruptions during them, and focus on the task. Sometimes, with a mature class, a teacher can borrow a little special time for such students, but in most cases this is just not possible. Often the only feasible learning condition for them is a tutorial, manned by a community volunteer, a teacher aide, or an older student, with the teacher supervising and designing the lesson material.

Other means of stretching the busy teacher's time include the use of a self-tutoring device, task cards setting up individual projects, and prerecorded tapes with lessons and answers. A peer may serve as tutor-listener if proper pairing can be arranged.

Parents are a teacher's resource more often than we have believed. Programs for disturbed students, particularly the alienated ones, are reaching out to include the home. Rather than letting behavior difficulties continue to a point where a student must be excluded, the schools now, at an early stage of a difficulty, schedule conferences in which parents, student, teacher, and a mental health specialist participate. The assumption is that all parties really want to solve the difficulty, and the support of the home may be critical. When parents are hostile to the pupil, the hostility is less likely to provoke unfortunate behavior if the matter can be talked out and plans drawn up to meet the difficulties. While no punches are pulled, the issue is to teach the child what he *must* learn rather than revert to punitive handling.

Help may be needed outside the classroom. Here a "big brother" or "big sister" may be most important in providing not only reasonable recreation but identification as well. Assistance with homework, especially at the junior and senior high levels, may be the only road to survival.

A wise teacher keeps time flexible in planning for the disturbed youngster. Some children may be able to benefit from one hour of school but no longer. Some can make it through the morning but fall apart before the afternoon is under way.

Wise use of space is important. For example, some disturbed students benefit from having offices or study cubicles to reduce distraction. On the other hand, some need to see others and observe what is going on in order to feel less anxious.

The more flexible the concept of space in the teacher's mind, the more he can use this resource to serve the disturbed student. Dividing the room into work centers for various subgroups is one technique. Using the hall not as a punitive place but as a stimulus control may be appropriate. Some older youngsters can do their work better in the library, while others would roam the halls if not under surveillance.

Above all, the teacher and the school need to bear in mind that, for a disturbed child, being able to escape temporarily from group pressures is often the key to survival. Each school should have a place and, if possible, a person for a disturbed child to go to at a time of crisis.

Even with the most able consultation and highly skilled teaching it may not be possible to help a child in the regular school setting, and unless he can be helped—not merely contained—in the classroom, he should not be there. The teacher's survival and the other children's welfare, as well as his own, are at stake.

For children who still fail to respond in the regular classroom after everything feasible has been done, the next step is the special class. Such classes provide relief for the whole school system and, generally speaking, they offer the disturbed pupils more individualized planning, with the result that pupil behavior and achievement improve. Some recent research, however, suggests that the improvement tends to disappear when the pupil returns to the mainstream. Indeed, the special class is far from being a panacea. It often helps least the unsocialized youngster, who needs so much, and sometimes it includes very disturbed children, even though the general consensus is that psychotic children need more help than a special class can give.

The special class falls short of the mark for other reasons. Frequently, special class curriculums do not include individual work and family contacts, although classroom work alone is usually not enough. Further, many public school teachers do not have the assistants they need to conduct a special class successfully.

And the special class bears a stigma. Students seldom see the value of being "special" and attitude is a critical part of the impact. Particularly at the secondary level, they resist being set apart. To adolescents, the stigma is so oppressive to their whole quest for a self (and a normal self) that it generates a great deal of friction. The stigma is strengthened because teachers and school administrations are seldom eager to welcome back a "cured" student. Nevertheless, special class provisions, if properly handled and staffed, are part of the sequence of support needed in every school program.

When all is said and done, most disturbed children are, and will continue to be, in the regular classroom, and, like it or not, classrooms and teaching will have to change if the schools are to fulfill their ever-increasing responsibility for the social and emotional development of children.

The Bilingually Advantaged

Judith Rae Gates

> *Buenos días, niños.*
> *Me llamo la Señora Grundigh.*
> *Seré su maestra de primer año.*
> *Escuchen cuidadosamente mientras*
> *les digo los reglamentos*
> *que hay que observar. . . .*

WHAT is your reaction to the above paragraph—assuming you aren't fluent in Spanish? Did you quit reading in the middle of the first sentence or did you stumble through, translating word for word and still not understanding?

Thousands of Mexican American children who each fall enter school for the first time have a similar problem with English. Not only are they faced with the usual first-day-of-school tremors in a school far away from Mamá and their hermanos or hermanas, but they are also bombarded with a strange language they don't understand.

Teachers have used several approaches in efforts to help these children. The traditional method was based on the premise that use of Spanish at school would retard the learning of English. Fluency in English must therefore be the goal of these students and would naturally precede all other learning.

This viewpoint reflected the prevailing philosophy of the times, which implied that America must assimilate people of other cultures and that the public schools must serve as the main melting pot for the nation. Of course 80 percent of the Mexican American pupils might have to repeat the first grade because of language problems, but this was simply labeled as an unfortunate occurrence for the individual student. (Besides, everyone agreed, "He really didn't try.")

The second approach acknowledged the problem facing these pupils, but it was based on the false premise that learning a language consists of learning words. The School of 400, set up in many school districts in Texas, California, and other states, provided preschool Spanish-speaking students with a crash course to acquaint them with at least 400 English words. The students were then supposed to be able to enter first grade and compete with their Anglo counterparts. The fallacy of this approach is obvious: How can a student who knows only 400 words compete with an English-speaking child who has an active vocabulary of 2,000 words or more?

A third approach, that of teaching English as a Second Language (ESL), has this basic philosophy: Since all children need to learn English, schools should devote much of their time to teaching in and through English. This approach recognizes that since English is not the child's first language, some concessions must be made in teaching techniques—for example, in presenting vocabulary items within a prescribed syntax. Yet the only use of the child's first or "home" language in this kind of program is vocalization of a few words to facilitate communication between teacher and pupil.

ESL is based on methods used in teaching a foreign language: The teacher provides a model sentence pattern; the student learns and repeats it. The teacher then introduces a new word which the child uses in the sentence pattern he has already learned.

ESL is a step in the right direction, but it places the home language in an undesirable position by requiring that English be learned before any real conceptual development can follow. Yet how can students talk about concepts when material is limited to providing a language rather than concepts?

A fourth approach is based on the realization that the child's home language is almost always the most completely developed; therefore, it is the best medium for teaching children to read and write. Appropriately, this is called the bilingual approach.

Full recognition is given to the fact that English is a second language for the students. Although they need to learn English, they can begin to develop skills for acquiring information in a language they understand. When using this approach, a teacher presents all lessons during the first few weeks of school in the home language. As the child becomes adjusted to the strange world of school, the teacher introduces a few English words. But skills and conceptual items are in the home language.

When students seem ready—perhaps in the second half of the first year—the teacher increases development of oral English (ESL) to fill perhaps 10 percent of the day. In each succeeding year, he offers more and more of this instruction. If a student's first year is kindergarten, half of his classes are in English by the time he's in the fourth grade and chances are he has become bilingual. The potential of this approach seems obvious because the earlier children use a language the more internalized it becomes.

Socially and financially successful families have always insisted that their children become proficient not only in English but also in an additional language. Yet we tend to brand students who arrive at school speaking a different language as *disadvantaged.* I believe we should change this tag to *advantaged.* I am not trying to negate the value of and the necessity for learning English but rather to establish the advantage of being bilingual and in turn bicultural.

Most everyone agrees that knowledge of one language generally enhances one's ability to learn a second one. In fact, a person's linguistic ability usually grows with the addition of each new language—if the language one speaks at home is not relegated to the back room. Furthermore, a bilingual education would certainly be a forward step against the ethnocentrism which plagues our country.

Thomas D. Horn of the Curriculum and Instruction Department of the College of Education, University of Texas, came to San Antonio in 1964 to cooperate with the city school district's Title III (ESEA) Bilingual Demonstration Project in conducting research on teaching oral English and reading readiness to disadvantaged children who were not native speakers of the language. The program was originally designed to effect reading readiness using ESL techniques. After Dr. Horn experimented with various methods, he recommended using oral language development materials adapted from the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) program, which do not discriminate against children who have had limited experiences before attending school. Teachers presented this material orally to first grade students for approximately 30 minutes in the morning and 30 minutes in the afternoon. Teachers used English with one experimental group, Spanish with the other.

Shortly after the program started, teachers noted the importance of enhancing the self-concept for these students. Thus materials were developed to give students positive concepts of themselves: "I am a unique person, important to my family, my teacher, my fellow students, and the larger world."

In late 1967, the San Antonio School District contracted with the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (SEDL) to design sequential structural oral language materials. Instructional techniques were basically the same as those used in the ESL approach, but the programs, which were labeled OAE and OAS (Oral-Aural English and Oral-Aural Spanish), followed the pattern by which babies learn a language. They hear a language first; then repeat what they hear. Much later they learn to read and finally to write words they already know.

Presentation of this material enabled students to hear sentence structures and repetitive sentence patterns dealing with science and social studies. When well-acquainted with the sounds and meanings, students could internalize the patterns by repeating models provided by the teacher. They were then able to substitute word forms in the slots and carry on dialogues with the teacher.

Interpretation of personal experiences provided impetus for further reading. When the class went on a field trip, for example, the reading lesson for the week would probably be one the students developed with the help of the teacher who directed a question-and-answer session and recorded all student responses. Students then read their own answers and comments about an experience they'd already had (rather than reading something about the snow-covered spruce trees which even Anglo children in our part of the country have trouble understanding).

Young people participating in this project made some improvement in language development and IQ scores, but the more immediate encouragement came from daily classroom behavior: Instead of being apathetic, students began asking for more information as well as demonstrating a greater willingness to try new things and a growing sensitivity to their environment.

In 1968 Josué González became director of bilingual education activities for the San Antonio school district. He expressed concern about the relatively limited emphasis placed on the child's home language (Spanish) in instruction. He noticed with interest the pleasure these youngsters showed in relevant materials. If relevancy is the key to helping first graders succeed, he reasoned, what would be more relevant than providing a curriculum in their home language?

About this same time, many local educators—myself included—observed that within a year or less fourth and fifth graders moving into the San Antonio district from Mexico could speak almost as much English as their Mexican American peers. They also achieved significantly more in basic conceptual areas, according to standard achievement tests.

My first reaction, as a fairly inexperienced teacher, was to conclude that Mexico's schools must be more efficient than ours.

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Watching these young people perform, however, made me decide that the difference between them and our own Mexican American students was this: *The Mexican students knew the basic concepts necessary to function at school.*

Armando could read. In fact, because Spanish is a virtually phonetic language, he had probably learned to read and write at an earlier age than students in the United States. Consequently, he was able to acquire information from the printed page much earlier. All Armando had to do when he entered our school was to learn English. He could already read, and he could function very well in math and geography—even if he had to sit with his textbooks on one side of his desk and a small Spanish-English dictionary on the other. And, learn the language he did!

Director González and the assistant superintendent, Paul Kantz, moved toward the attitude that being bilingual is an asset rather than a disadvantage. The superintendent of the San Antonio district, Harold Hitt, provided the ultimate impetus in this direction: In a memorandum to all principals, he urged that high priority be given to "the inauguration of a bilingual education program that accepts as its major goal the provision of opportunities for all graduates of high school in the district to become bilingual in Spanish and English."

Such a program became more feasible when ESEA was amended to provide grants specifically for bilingual education (Title VII). In 1969 San Antonio initiated three projects with Title VII funds.

The Multimedia Development project was designed to develop an effective package of integrated learning materials; animated color films, filmstrips, audiotapes, student worksheets, teacher guides, and other visual aids designed primarily for Mexican American kindergartners and first graders.

Initial development of this project was most unusual in that it represented the cooperative efforts of the San Antonio district and a commercial firm in researching and investigating areas of concern to ensure excellence in social studies content. It dealt more with the affective than with conceptual aspects of the subject.

Long before federal monies were available for special programs, Alonso Perales, then a Spanish teacher at Rhodes Junior School, had devised (with the cooperation of his principal and several fellow teachers), the Rhodes Project, which encompassed several subject areas in the Spanish language arts class in order to provide Mexican American students with further development of their home language. Instead of using Spanish textbooks, teachers tried to develop more relevant units via audio-lingual or adapted ESL techniques.

The favorable attitudes of students enrolled in this project and statistics which indicated that the sixth and seventh grades are critical dropout areas for students led to establishment (with some of the Title VII funds) of the Junior School Curriculum Development Project. Its design entailed a plan for identifying, developing, and adapting materials to help sixth and seventh graders become independent learners in both English and Spanish.

The initial task involved selection and training of 10 teacher-writers in techniques of audio-lingual inquiry-oriented curriculum development. Upon completion of orientation, this cadre of writers were expected to develop at least one unit for each six-week period in each of five subject areas—English language arts, Spanish language arts, science, math, and social studies. In adapting the materials into teaching units, the teachers used great care in retaining the conceptual content of each subject rather than watering it down, as many educators had previously felt was necessary.

Indeed, it was clear to the project personnel that, if anything, students needed a concentration rather than a dilution of conceptually developed materials. The answer lay in developing innovative methods and materials reflecting indentifiable, realistic goals. The audio-lingual approach in language development proved so effective that the teachers decided to structure the content material of the units and provide for inquiry-oriented activities requiring active and positive student participation. For example, students had less trouble understanding the function of the microscope when the explanation was in Spanish. Reading materials, too, could deal with familiar topics.

The historical contributions of Mexican Americans and other ethnic groups are now featured areas in the seventh grade social studies course on Texas history, geography, and government. Sixth grade teachers present social science concepts to develop sensitivity to others—their differences and likenesses—via role playing, observing, and gathering of data.

Because the percent of high school graduates from local Spanish-speaking families is so small, some resources of the Title VII funds were directed toward development of an innovative high school project to prepare bilingual office workers. San Antonio's position in the Spanish-speaking world lends itself admirably to a project for training students with bilingual skills in typing, shorthand, basic language skills, and business communications. Several Latin American consulates, as well as transportation and commercial companies dealing with Latin America, offer a fertile field of employment for trained bilingual office personnel.

Many young people applying for these positions soon discover they lack the necessary skills. Under a project developed to operate in conjunction with the Texas Education Agency's Vocational Office Education Program, juniors entering the program are first of all immersed in an intensive Spanish language arts course, followed by the basic theory of Spanish Gregg shorthand. Seniors move into the practical aspects of the business world via on-the-job training in local companies.

The San Antonio school district with a traditional bilingual, bicultural atmosphere thus moves toward providing its students the cognitive and affective skills needed to function successfully in an increasingly complex and fast-moving American society, as well as in the ever-shrinking world of the 70's in which Spanish and Spanish-speaking countries will play a significant role.

Indian Education—

A National Disgrace

George D. Fischer
and Walter F. Mondale

MR. FISCHER: I've been studying the report of the Senate's Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. We at the NEA think it's a good report and hope that it will wake people up to what a deplorable mess Indian education is.

Senator Mondale: I agree with you completely. As you know, the NEA had a good deal to do with the creation of the Indian Education Subcommittee.

Mr. Fischer: That's right. At Congressional hearings in 1966, our NEA representatives urged the initiation of just such an in-depth study of Indian education as the Subcommittee undertook.

Senator Mondale: The Subcommittee held its first hearings in December 1967, and during the two years of its existence we compiled more than 4,000 pages of testimony — most of that from the Indian people themselves. We traveled thousands and thousands of miles — from points 300 miles north of the Arctic Circle in Alaska to the Navajo Reservation in the Southwest. We had a number of outside surveys and studies made. I think we ended up compiling the most comprehensive study ever made on the subject of Indian education. There have been other, more modest efforts, but this is the first attempt by a Congressional committee to understand the state of Indian education — if you can call this national disgrace *education*.

Mr. Fischer: National disgrace is right. Your report shows that the dropout rate among Indians is twice the national average. The achievement levels of Indian children are two to three years behind those of white children, and the Indian child falls progressively further behind, as long as he stays in school. Will the report of the Subcommittee help the situation? Will it be implemented or will it just gather dust, the way all the others have?

Senator Mondale: Well, action has already been taken on some of the recommendations. For example, we have increased the funding for bilingual education from $7.5 million to $25 million. We have funded the National Council on Indian Opportunity. We have introduced bills providing for a White House Conference on Indian Affairs, increased Teacher Corps personnel in Indian schools, and provided incentives to encourage more Indians to enter teaching. But I think that the basic issues in Indian education are still totally unresolved. The recommendations of our report call for a fundamental change in attitude, a fundamental change in the control of the educational program, and a far more substantial national commitment. And they call for the white culture to show respect for the Indian cultures that exist in this country.

Mr. Fischer: I've been around Indians all my life, and I grew up appreciating their cultures, but many people aren't aware that there are or ever were Indian cultures. They don't know, for example, that the Choctaw and the Cherokee nations ran their own school systems from about 1800 until after the Civil War—when the government took their authority away and put them on the reservations. In the days when they were running their own schools, the Choctaws and the Cherokees were more literate in their own language than the average American citizen was in English, and they were more literate in English than the average citizen was in Arkansas and Texas.

Senator Mondale: Their story is one of the saddest in our nation's history. After their system was taken from them by the federal government, their literacy rate declined tremendously. Today, 40 percent of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate in English; only 39 percent have completed the eighth grade. The situation is tragic.

This is why I say the first thing we must do is to return control of the Indian children to the Indian community. If you told the average non-Indian community in this country that we had a dandy new system of education for them that was going to be run by some remote bureaucracy in Washington, you'd have a rebellion on your hands. But that's what we did to the Indian communities when we turned Indian education over to the BIA. No wonder it hasn't worked.

Mr. Fischer: It's worse than if it simply hadn't worked. I think that the combination of the reservation system and the kind of school Indian children have attended has destroyed the Indian youngster's self-respect. Even some of the textbooks they study make disparaging remarks about their race.

Senator Mondale: There's no question about that. Our subcommittee heard testimony on the mental health of Indians, particularly the children. Dr. Karl Menninger and other top psychiatrists who have studied this problem say that Indian children have one of the lowest self-images of any group in the country, perhaps the lowest.

Mr. Fischer: And the highest suicide rate.

Senator Mondale: That's correct. Dr. Menninger says that Navajo children in the BIA elementary boarding schools have the highest anxiety levels he has ever seen.

Mr. Fischer: That's not surprising. Imagine a system that puts five-year-olds in schools that are sometimes thousands of miles from their homes! Any psychiatrist can tell you that the best place for a child to live is in a good home. But it's not just that these children go to boarding schools. They are doubly damaged because white culture is forced on them while they are at school and then when they go back home in the summertime, they don't fit into the culture any longer. They may be rejected by the other children in their own families.

Senator Mondale: Yes, they leave home too early to develop in their own language and culture, and then the schools are inadequate, so they don't develop in our language and culture. They can't go home and they can't join the white community. They just fall between the cracks. This is one reason why in some areas the Indian teen-age suicide rate is many times the national average. The human wreckage we've developed over the years must prove that our system of Indian education is one of the worst in the world.

Mr. Fischer: Why are the BIA schools inadequate, aside from the fact that they take the children away from their homes? We know that the BIA system has some dedicated teachers. Some of them have what amounts to a missionary dedication.

Senator Mondale: It's true that many of the BIA teachers I talked to were very interested and committed, but the whole structure of the BIA system is so stifling that their talents are wasted. In the first place, the BIA area director, who is in control of a BIA school, is seldom, if ever, an educator. He's more interested in a lot of other concerns — resource management, roads, welfare, and tribal politics — than he is in education. When the school makes a request for funds, it has to compete with all these other interests. If the school wants to appeal the area director's decision, the matter has to laboriously make its way upward through more bureaucratic layers. It seldom gets very far. The area directors won't let it. A gifted teacher in the BIA system has to deal with so many bureaucratic levels in order to get reform that he's virtually helpless.

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Mr. Fischer: I'm sure this must be one reason why personnel recruitment and retention are such problems for the BIA schools. Of course, there are other reasons. For instance, a BIA teacher is on civil service. This means that he usually works most of the summer and often has no chance to go back to college, he accrues leave at the civil service rate, and he misses out on a lot of the fringe benefits public school systems around the country have to offer.

Senator Mondale: Not only does the BIA have a hard time getting and keeping good teachers, but the way it assigns teachers is unlike what is done anywhere else in the world. Teachers' names are all placed on a national civil service roster. When a local principal or school needs a teacher — say a chemistry teacher — one is assigned from the roster. No one considers whether or not a teacher fits the community.

Mr. Fischer: Another thing that I think damages the BIA system — all Indian education, for that matter — is that, by and large, teachers do not have the special preparation they need to do a good job of teaching Indian children. Many Indian children don't know any English at all before they go to school. Take a Navajo child, for example. When he starts to school, he has an even greater language handicap than a Puerto Rican child has when he starts, because the sounds that make up the English language aren't even in the Navajo's native vocabulary. The teacher needs to have developed an ear for the Navajo language and an ear for English sounds so that he can help the child to blend the two.

It isn't a simple matter to get the necessary preparation, however. Very few of the colleges have programs that offer it, and the BIA has never established any adequate training program of its own.

Senator Mondale: The ideal teacher for an Indian child is someone from the same culture. At Rough Rock Demonstration School, an Indian-controlled school system I visited, they have about 14 Navajo teachers, and the instruction is bilingual. The children I saw there were making much more progress in every subject, including English, than the Indian children in schools where English alone was used. Unfortunately, less than 5 percent of the teachers in the BIA school system are natives of the tribes they are teaching. In the entire system only 16 percent of the teachers are Indians. I think many Indian teachers would like to participate in a system they believed had integrity, but they don't feel that the BIA has.

Mr. Fischer: Apparently, they feel that way about all schools the Indians attend. I noticed in the Subcommittee report that only 1 percent of Indian children in elementary school have Indian teachers or principals. We've been giving the BIA school system a hard time, but as a matter of fact, two-thirds of the Indian children go to public schools, and their academic achievement there is as bad as that of the children who go to BIA schools. Basically, the same things are wrong with almost all the schools Indians attend. They don't have the specially prepared teachers they need, they don't respect the native cultures, they don't have the kinds of teaching materials Indian children can relate to, and, for any of a number of reasons, they don't spend enough money.

Senator Mondale: The lack of cultural sensitivity is one of the worst flaws in Indian education. Up in the frozen tundra of Alaska we saw teachers trying to teach with Dick-and-Jane books that talk about trucks and green grass and city houses and other things that the children had no knowledge of. Minnesota, my home state, has a fine program to improve public school education, but even there they only recently stopped using textbooks which referred to Indians as savages.

Mr. Fischer: The kinds of history books that refer to the skirmishes the Indians won as massacres and to those in which the whites came out on top as glorious victories.

Senator Mondale: If Indian communities had control of their own school systems, they wouldn't permit schools to be so insensitive to the needs and rights of their children. With local control, young children would not be sent away to boarding schools, forced to forget or reject their native language and culture. These things — insults, I call them — would never be permitted. That's why one theme running through all the Subcommittee's recommendations is increased Indian participation in controlling their own educational programs, whether they be in BIA or in public schools. And of course, the schools must have far more substantial funding.

Mr. Fischer: That means more support must come from the federal level. We have reached the saturation point, as you know, at the local taxing levels. The tax base is up to where there's almost a taxpayers' revolt. Many states are paying more than their share toward public education. The NEA feels that the federal government should be contributing a third, rather than the current 6 percent, but actually, federal support is dropping off precipitously. The present Administration believes that spending money on education is inflationary.

Senator Mondale: It's tough to get the funds we need. I had to fight in the Poverty Subcommittee to keep Head Start authorized at its present level, and if we can get the appropriation, it will be a miracle.

Mr. Fischer: If you don't get it, that will put Indian education in worse shape than it's in now. In Santa Fe, during the NEA Task Force on Human Rights hearings, we talked to educational representatives of all the pueblos in northern Arizona and New Mexico. Some of them had driven 600 miles just to testify. And the one thing they were in unanimous agreement on was that Head Start should not be cut. These were Indians speaking, and they were convinced that the earlier Indian children get into an educational program the better off they'll be. How can we hope to improve Indian education when the Administration's attitude is in favor of cutting out this important phase of it? If this kind of thinking is going to prevail, what do you think can be done to implement the Subcommittee's recommendations?

Senator Mondale: We in Congress will have to fight — harder than we've done before. We must make the public understand the issues. People must realize that investment in the human resources of this country isn't inflationary. Getting people up to the point where they can contribute to the economy isn't inflationary at all. It increases their tax-paying ability, so it tends to level off inflation.

Mr. Fischer: We can't cure inflation by depriving men of education and the means to gain social acceptance. These are tools, and without them, men are deprived of hope. Without hope they're going to choose to die, and they'll choose their own avenue, whether it be drunkenness or suicide or filth, squalor, and child abuse.

Senator Mondale: Professional educators could help a lot if they became an effective political force. Now in my state, teachers and administrators make up perhaps the largest single group in the state.

Mr. Fischer: Educators are the largest occupational group in the United States.

Senator Mondale: A lot of people with deplorable records on education keep getting reelected by people who never know this. Teachers should make us in Congress live with our records. They should spell it out. It ought to cost a man his political life if he fails to support education. And if American educators wanted it to be that way, it would be.

Mr. Fischer: It will be. We're determined to bring about changes that will improve the lives of this generation and the next. And one area where there will be big changes will be in Indian education. We're going to take a big step toward giving it back to the Indians. Of course, that's not a simple thing to do, because there's a difference of opinion among the Indian communities about what kind of educational system they want. Some want to continue with a reformed BIA, for instance, and others don't want any part of it.

Senator Mondale: We can't be paternalistic. Whatever develops, the plans have to be *their* plans. We have proposed a White House Conference on American Indian Affairs, which would be run by Indians. We have hopes that the National Council on Indian Opportunity will be able to settle some of the issues. As you probably know, this Council is charged by Presidential Order to coordinate, appraise, and innovate in the area of Indian programs. The National Congress of American Indians has already begun the debate.

Mr. Fischer: Good. Until now, the Indians have never been given the opportunity to sit down and debate the issues that are dividing them. And we all know that this is the way we solve problems in a democracy.

Black Leaders Speak Out on Black Education

Laura K. Campbell, Joseph C. Duncan,
William L. Smith, and Roy Wilkins

FOR CENTURIES, Negroes have tried to be a part of the white establishment, countrymen of these United States in every way. However, several factors have prohibited the Negro from complete participation in the land which he helped to build.

The white establishment asks, "What does the Negro want?" He does not want anything more than or different from what any other citizen wants. He wants neither to be denied opportunities nor to have things made easier for him because he is a Negro.

The Negro is trying to bring about change in the educational system by righting the wrongs of 300 years. Inferior teaching and token education are no longer acceptable. In the interest of their children, Negroes are demanding active participation on all educational levels. They want to be sure that Negro children are not shortchanged with poor teachers, inferior equipment, and lack of books and supplies; they want to be sure that each child gets an opportunity to succeed. The black community is trying to break off the shackles of slavery which have, in their minds, prevented their members from determining their destiny.

Our educational courses are built around what the majority group has done, but we cannot afford to forget, and must not ignore, what minority groups, particularly Negroes, have done to make this country great. The Negro has arrived at the point where he realizes that he, too, has a heritage; that he, too, has played an important role in our history.

All Negroes must be cognizant of the fact that what and how children are taught is very important. Curriculum must be carefully planned. We don't want high school seniors receiving diplomas with only a seventh grade education. We must prepare them with a program that will enable them to compete in the world — regardless of their color, origin, or religion.

Those of us who have taught Negro children have imparted to them the importance of education, of working to their fullest potential in order to achieve a place of worth and dignity in

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American society. However, we have not taught them about the obstacles they would encounter in trying to participate in this democratic society — obstacles of bias and prejudice because of skin color. How guilty did Negro teachers feel teaching the myth of equal opportunity for all to Negro children when they themselves were experiencing injustices and inequities because of race?

We have also taught these children to analyze, to criticize, and to try to improve themselves. We have, however, failed to teach them how to improve their environment in constructive ways, and when they heed our advice and attempt to correct abuses in our society by the only means they know, we beat them over the head and point the accusing finger.

We can now try to educate white people to accept the Negro as a human being with equal rights and to help the white man realize that a country and/or world built on white supremacy will crumble. Whites need to learn about the heritage and contributions of the Negro as much as the Negro does; whites need to rid themselves of racism; and both races need to learn to work and grow together. These changes are necessary to develop a great nation without inner strife, rebellion, or revolution.

— *Laura K. Campbell*

TODAY, Americans of all colors, creeds, and national origins are no longer being told what to think, do, or believe. They are using their experiences and education to form their own opinions; they are basing their actions on what they believe to be best for strengthening their chances for survival in our society.

Who speaks for the black man? is a question of the past. Today's black man has no one leader. "To speak for the black man" is almost suicidal in our society. The opinions or actions of any individual or group cannot be construed as representing the thinking or action of the entire ethnic group involved.

Society has been forced to take a long, hard look at some practices that have caused blacks and other groups to become discontented with the educational system. In many cases, the "look" takes too long and results in little or no action to remedy the situation.

The black man is tired of waiting. He is making demands, and many of them are justified, including a meaningful education for his children, community control of big city schools, bussing in some instances, and compensatory education.

At present, the system allows for only a partial education of members of some ethnic groups. Therefore the product of such a system is lacking in the basic knowledge necessary to cope with the society for which he was supposed to have been trained. By ignoring the achievements of blacks and other ethnic groups, our educational system is saying that one must lose his identity, his individuality, his hopes for a better life.

Some changes to be considered in meeting the needs of a multiethnic educational system and society should include: (a) multiethnic textbooks and materials that depict, impartially, a true and complete picture of all groups; (b) fewer oral-aural experiences and more laboratory-type experiences; and (c) tests that all students, regardless of ethnic or cultural background, can understand.

Besides these changes in the school program itself, the community must be involved in running the schools — especially in our big cities, where schools will continue to be predominantly black because of housing patterns. Unless community members are involved, indifferent teachers and administrators, insensitive to problems of the community and the students, will deter the progress of the schools and the community they serve. One must remember, however, that community control must mean the best education for all groups concerned.

If a racially mixed school is the goal of the community, then, some bussing appears necessary. Bussing is now and has been a matter of fact to many Southern children — especially black children — in communities with dual school systems. Black and white children have ridden for miles — sometimes past a school for the other race — to get to their classroom.

And what of compensatory education for blacks? *All* who have not had the advantage of the best possible education need compensatory education. The opportunity to catch up, keep up, or climb further up should be made available to all who have been penalized in the educational process. The educational system itself, with public support, should assume the responsibility for training and retraining educators to teach according to the needs of all students instead of just those of a middle-class or affluent background.

— *Joseph C. Duncan*

IT IS very easy for us to relate what is happening in the cities, the public schools, and the universities today to blackness.

Black reformation is the crisis, and no one seems to have any substantive solutions. People feel threatened.

In our haste to "get the crisis over with," we deal with the surface problems and fail to address ourselves to the underlying issues. Only when our nation is threatened from without (Sputnik is a case in point) are we quick to accept and implement practical solutions.

The current intense discontent of the black man with the educational system at all levels is a symptom of his intense discontent with all aspects of our society. He has focused on the schools simply because he perceives them to be one of the institutions that have been crippling his young, one that he can and must do something about.

Black people are not alone in their discontent. All those in minority groups who have suffered from inequality of opportunity and who have seen the extent of their poverty in the midst of affluence are discontented.

Since colonial times, schools have been our society's prime instrument for perpetuating our cultural heritage. Black people believe that society has used the schools to exclude them and members of other minorities from equal opportunities and reason that the only possible means of ending this exclusion is to gain control of the schools their children attend.

Suburban educators will attest to the fact that they are and have been subject to the pressures and demands of the community. This is as it should be. When communities, which are microcosms of society, do not influence their institutions of self-perpetuation, then society is destined to decay.

Black people and other minority groups have come to recognize the real meaning of power to control their destinies. It must begin with a knowledge of self and a realization of worth. The desire of black people today to acquire racial identity, separatism, pride, and self-esteem is similar to that of all other ethnic tribes in America. Why, then, are we so afraid of black identity?

Until we, as a nation, begin to deal with power equalization in a real sense, we shall always be putting out fires. Minorities are no longer content with patronizing and condescending responses, nor should they be. They wish to be a part of the system. They desire career opportunities in the education profession, for example. If our country hopes to avoid the holocaust from within, we must recognize and accept this fact. Unless we do this together now, we may be assured that the discontent of the black and the poor with our educational institutions will be only the beginning of even deeper troubles. Rather than reveling in the outdated concepts of the man who pulls himself up by his own bootstraps, the self-made man, or the myth of the rugged individualist, it is time we recognize that members of minority groups should have a legitimate share in our nation's wealth and power. Recognizing this may be our last hope for national greatness, if not for national survival!

— *William L. Smith*

TO THE dismay of at least 95 percent of the Negro-American population, many of the Negro college students to whom nearly everyone looked for new ideas on race advancement have come up with a theory of racial self-segregation.

For all the adult lives of every black American 40- to 60-years-old, the primary goal has been the abolition of obviously unjust racial segregation. No textbooks or philosophical theses are needed to drive this point home. The practical operation of the system is plain enough to a fourth grader. If one separates a minority from the majority culture (and the Negro-American is a distinct and relatively powerless minority), it is easy to build it into a deprived population.

Lily-white politics disfranchises blacks. The latter have no say in the election of men to office, in taxes, in legislation that literally affects their very lives. Lily-whiteism seals off the blacks' living quarters, their recreation, travel, employment, and schools. They are (and have been) ripe for exploitation. The white majority also administers the law and can fasten a criminal label on the black population through convictions and imprisonment.

Aided by the many tentacled communications media, the white majority can build an evil conception into racial policy almost overnight. Heavy tomes by "scholars," textbooks for millions of white children, picture books, tabloid and staid newspapers, magazines, opinion polls, and radio and television all can help create and maintain the net of public opinion that will hobble black people. If one adds the sermons and pastoral advice that can be given each week to, say, 50,000 congregations and parishes, he can envision and appreciate the enormous anti-Negro machinery.

Yet, in the face of these overwhelming facts, some of today's black college students have set up a singsong liturgy for black studies centers limited to black students and black faculty members. They want the universities just to give them the money — and go away. They will select the courses in the curriculum, hire and fire faculty, and generally run a separate black college within a college.

They have added to these demands one for separate dormitories arbitrarily established on a color basis, where all white students are barred and all Negro students are required to enter and live. There are tales of threats to hesitant or opposing black students by the minority of black activists. All this goes on despite the fact that the majority of Negro students seek an education for life in the real world of tough interracial competition and for rewards unencumbered by racial maneuvering.

The separatism called for by a highly vocal minority of Negro-Americans will harm the multiracial, pluralistic society America is seeking to perfect. It is certain to isolate the black population, to the joy of the white segregationist. With its unconcealed aspects of racial hatred and violence, especially its predilection for paramilitary strutting and boasts, it could foreshadow a tragedy in human relations comparable in concept, if smaller in scope, to the hateful Hitler dictatorship.

— *Roy Wilkins*

The Face of a Child

Harriet K. Howard

SOME years ago, in Paris, I watched a puppeteer performing in pantomime on a bare stage. His last act featured an unusually lifelike puppet fashioned in the image of a six-year-old boy.

The puppeteer himself was extremely skilled. Although the strings that governed the movements of the puppet were obvious to all and no effort had been made to disguise them or the control bars, nevertheless, the puppet appeared to move and to act in a most natural way. Puppeteer and puppet were obviously out for an afternoon walk and a session of play in the park.

The two romped together until one of the strings caught the attention of the puppet. His eyes followed it curiously down to where it was attached to his hand, then back up again to where it joined the control bar. He watched his hand as it responded to the strings, noticed how it moved and then relaxed at the command of the controls. He studied the strings attached to the other parts of his body, watched his limbs move in response to their direction, and traced the paths of the strings as they led inexorably back to the control bars.

After a while he paused and looked at the audience, his face puzzled and wondering. Then, as if in response to a sudden thought, he ran his fingers over the mask that covered his face. He traced its outlines with increasingly desperate deliberation, until, with a short, sharp gesture, he pulled it off. He looked at the features of the mask, at the same time feeling the contours of the face it had covered. Obviously, he recognized them as the same.

His eyes wide, he stared into the audience. There was a hushed silence filled with the enormity of the strings, the control bar, and the mask, with the impact of an undeniable dependence, and with the realization of what he really was. In the long pause that followed, the agony of revelation that the audience shared with him was reflected in his puppet face. His head dropped. Replacing the mask, he tremulously reached out for the puppeteer and held on tightly. As the two moved slowly off stage, his head was still pressed against the puppeteer's leg.

I have often thought of that performance and of how applicable the theme is to the realities of the classroom. For the most important thing we as educators do is to help guide the strings and control bars and to help fashion the masks of the children we teach.

In innumerable subtle ways, we consciously or unconsciously help determine the length of the strings that govern a child's movements: In the degree of play we help build into the controls, we allow for or cut short his creative growth and, in the picture that we project of his potential, his capabilities, and his limitations, we help create the mask into which his features will flow.

Our intuitive grasp of the nature of each child's individuality makes us aware of the kind and degree of direction that will produce a smoothly flowing action rather than a mass of tangled strings. Our knowledge of his strengths and weaknesses helps us attach the strings so that they will sustain a movement rather than break in the attempt to execute it.

The limit of each child's behavioral growth in our classroom lies within the constraints of the child's contribution to the situation and the direction afforded by our interaction. Above all, we must recognize that an integral part of a child's growth is the movement that defines it, for in the process of development, the end cannot be separated from the means.

We must accept the fact that each child will change in our classroom — for good or ill — and we must be willing to accept our share of the responsibility for the end result. We, as teachers, guide the student's method, pattern, and direction of growth, and we must acknowledge that in this way our guidance becomes an inseparable part of this mode of operation.

We also provide information to him about how we see him, and in this way we help to outline the features of his face. We constantly communicate this information to him — with words, with the intonations of our voice, with gestures, with facial expressions. In the swiftness of our responses to him; in the attention we give to his needs; in the way we touch him or avoid touching him; in everything we do with him, for him, or to him, we tell him how we see his face. And as he sees or thinks he sees what he is, so does he become. Beneath the mask, the child's features take shape, the image becomes one with the reality, and the face and the mask are the same.

While we cannot influence the child and remain completely unchanged ourselves, still we must remain aware of the unbalanced relationship existing in the classroom. The child is so much more malleable and vulnerable than we — so much more dependent upon our behavior than we upon his. Along with our academics, he absorbs our opinions and our biases about him. In his limited self-knowledge, he knows little of our limitations, he only knows what we see in him — how we see his face — and he reasons that our vision of him must be what he is.

The exceptional child may be more dependent on us for guidance than the so-called normal child. He may lend even more weight to what he reads in our communications to him; he may learn to read messages we can in no way be aware we are sending.

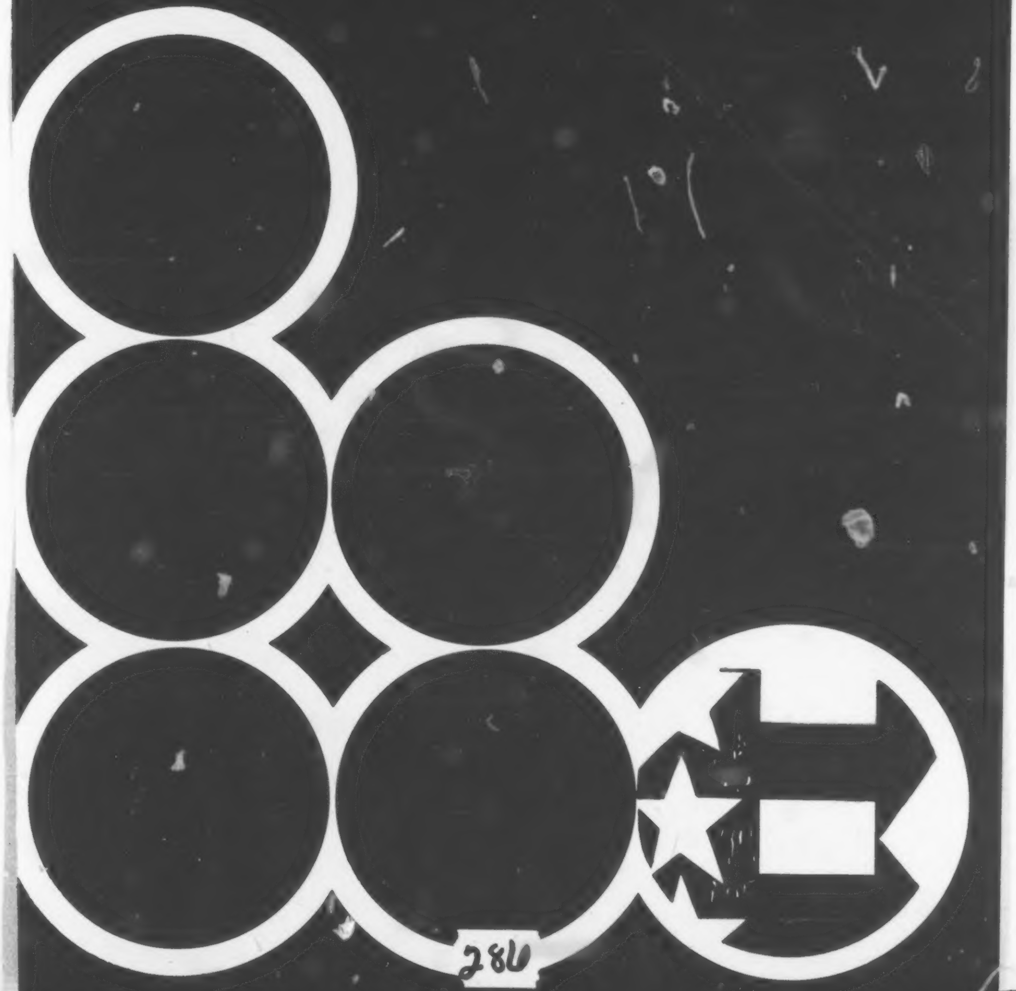
In addition, he may have learned to see the world through the filter of his exceptionality, so that perceptions, judgments, and other pieces of information are distorted or colored.

Our most difficult task is to help reduce the size of his disability until it covers only the area it actually affects, to help him see that it in no way detracts from his worth and dignity as a person.

We can do this in the way we guide and shape his behavior, allowing it to form in ways that best suit his individual needs. We can do it in the play we help build into the strings, encouraging exploration of different approaches to learning. We can do this with a sensitivity in handling the control bars that leaves room for creative growth and with patterns that guide him toward compensatory outlets to replace those denied him by his disability.

And, above all, while acknowledging the existence of his handicap and the realities of its restrictions, we can teach him that no matter how his exceptionality may restrict his movements, it need not mar his face.

GOALS
FOR
EDUCATION



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Progressive Education Should Continue

Paul B. Diederich

SINCE people who talk about progressive education have varied notions of what it is or was, I'll start this article with some instances of what I regard as progressive education.

First, as an example of progressive education in early childhood, let me tell you about a day when my daughter and I were walking to her nursery school.

As we started out she said, "Daddy, we mustn't step on the cracks in the sidewalk or a bear will come out and bite us." That seemed a sensible precaution, so we carefully avoided the cracks all the way to school.

Next day she wanted to play the same game again, but, tempted to find out whether she was ready for a mild dose of science, I asked her, "How do you know that a bear will come out if we step on a crack?"

She replied scornfully, "Oh, everybody knows that!"

I wanted to say that the things "everybody knows" are most likely to be false, but since she would not understand, I said, "I just can't believe it, because I haven't seen any bears around here lately. They may have all gone north. Couldn't we step on a crack and find out?"

Since she seemed alarmed at that idea, I suggested, "You go and hide behind that tree where the bear can't see you and let me step on a crack. I'm big; I'm not afraid of bears. Besides, I can run faster than they can."

At first she thought this would be too dangerous but finally consented. When I could see her little face peeping out from behind the tree, I shouted, "Come out, bear!" and boldly stepped on a crack.

At once she pointed to a bush behind me and said, "See, Daddy, there's the bear!"

Some parental instinct prompted me to say, "Let's run!" Since her legs were rather short, I scooped her up and ran all the way to school. Once inside the gate, we turned and shouted insults back at the bear.

I thought the imagination of childhood had defeated the methods of science, but this judgment turned out to be premature. Next morning she said to me, "Today, Daddy, you hide behind the tree and let me step on the crack."

Well! I could not tell without further evidence whether she had really caught the spirit of "Let's try it and see" or whether this was just another part of the game of make-believe. But at least she was not afraid to put herself in the position of danger, and her belief in the reality of the bear had perceptibly diminished.

I regard this as an instance of progressive education because I approached an objective through the natural concerns and activities of a very young child. I was willing to accept apparent defeat on the first trial in order to save face for her and to give her time to mull over the results of this experiment. Arguing would have done no good at this point, and I still think my impulse to pick her up and run was wise.

If this first trial had really failed, I would not have given up on the objective but would have waited for other opportunities to get my child to submit her hypotheses to experimental tests. A large part of progressive education consists of waiting — but waiting without giving up. In fact, my daughter needed many repetitions of this sort of lesson before she began to say, "Let's try it and see," on her own.

I was willing to accept rather inconclusive evidence that the bear lesson had attained the desired result for two reasons. First, any attempt to pin her down at this point might have involved an admission on her part that she had been wrong, and I did not want this first step toward science to be unpleasant. Second, I was quite confident that if any change in attitude had come about, it would reveal itself on numerous occasions as we went along.

Perhaps the overriding consideration is that this incident showed willingness to listen to a child and to take her ideas seriously. One of the wisest teachers of my acquaintance says, "A teacher does not have to understand children. He only has to be willing to."

Now let me go on to the more mature problems of the first grade. A few years ago I was asked to help develop measures of intellectual development and potential in disadvantaged first graders in New York City schools. The group intelligence tests previously used had given obviously false readings. As many as 70 percent of the children in some schools scored at the feebleminded level, but the things these children could do showed that they were anything but feeble-minded.

I soon guessed several reasons for their low scores. They were afraid of tests; they were upset by time limits; they hated answering questions — especially those in official-looking documents; they had the life-saving art of switching off their attention so that they never fully understood the directions. Above all, when they came to a question that they could not answer, they did not skip it and go on to the one that they *could* answer but sat there and sulked the rest of the period.

Early intelligence testers tried to avoid using tasks children learn in school, believing that some children are handicapped by poor instruction. They used unfamiliar tasks, such as making a string of beads exactly like a model string or finding a path through a maze. This procedure is all right for secure children, but insecure children freeze up when they are asked to do something they have never done or even seen. For this reason I decided to use tasks involving familiar words, numbers, and pictures and to disregard the effects of poor instruction, which, after all, constitute a real handicap to further learning. I attempted to avoid invidious comparisons by developing norms or standards of performance only within individual schools.

For one typical test I devised a sort of scale, a "balance beam." It was a stick two feet long with a screw-eye in the middle. This was hung from a hook at the top of a small stand so that the stick balanced. Each end of the stick had 10 pegs sticking up at one-inch intervals, numbered from 1 to 10 to show their distance from the fulcrum. A heavy bolt at each end of the stick could be screwed in or out to make it balance. Lead drapery weights could be placed on the pegs to show that a 3 and a 6, for example, would balance a 9; if the weights were even one position off, the stick definitely would not balance.

The children played with this scale in pairs. One boy might place a weight on 9 and ask his partner to balance it with two weights on the other side. The partner might put one weight on 4 and — after a few false moves — another on 5, and the beam would balance. If he made it within three moves, he won, which gave him the privilege of copying that solution on a slip of paper that was later dropped into his "mailbox" as a record of his successes. If he did not make it in three moves, the other player tried it.

I taught the children to copy their solutions in this fashion: "4 + 5 = 9," which they read as "Four and five balance nine." I taught them that the plus sign was just a handy way to write "and," and that the equal sign meant "balance."

At this point I ran into trouble with the people of the curriculum division, who said I must not use plus and equal signs before the second grade because research had shown that children of this age and ability could not understand them. I said I had seen disadvantaged first graders using these signs quite accurately and cut short the discussion by saying that I had no desire to interfere with the curriculum, but this was not curriculum; it was measurement, and I was authorized to do something about that.

Of course, that was not the whole truth. Which do you think it was: curriculum or measurement, teaching or testing? In my view, one mark of a good measure is that you can't tell which it is. To put the issue even more sharply, what would you say if someone wanted to throw out the balance beam on the ground that it took too much time away from teaching?

At any rate, my balance beam eliminated one kind of error I had often observed. Without the balance beam, when these children could not remember the sum of 5 and 4, they would count on their fingers; but many could not remember where to start and began with the number they saw: five, six, seven, EIGHT. Then they were sure that five and four made eight because they had counted it. They could not get that result on the balance beam; it would not balance.

This device had several features that seem to me to show various facets of progressive education.

First, the children set the problems for themselves or for one another, and they were soon setting much harder problems than any I would have dared to give them. By the end of the year, one child even discovered that three weights on the third peg plus four weights on the fourth will balance five weights on the fifth — which leads straight into the Pythagorean theorem.

Second, as soon as the children found one way to balance a number, they began to look for other ways to do it. Hence they began to think in terms of more than one correct solution for some kinds of problems.

Third, everybody got everything right because they kept on until the beam balanced, and then the answer was automatically right. The numbers they copied and gradually remembered represented correct solutions that would not be contradicted in subsequent experience — unlike the sums they got by counting on their fingers.

The children varied widely in the number and difficulty of the problems they attempted to solve with the balance beam and the other "toys and games" I used in this testing program. This implies a fourth advantage to this kind of testing: In their free activity periods these children had a wide choice of "games," could play whenever they liked, and could stick to any game as long as they wished without the panicky feeling that comes when time is limited. They could get accustomed to the rules of each game gradually and not have to understand and remember a set of directions they had received at the beginning of the period.

In all the "games" we always found some way for the children to record the solutions they found, and in their eyes these constituted the record of their successes — never of their failures. They always deposited the slips recording their solutions in their "mailboxes" with a feeling of triumph, never realizing that I was an old meany who would look into the boxes from time to time, count their slips, and record them under various headings.

The number of points a child accumulated over a period of several months was, of course, far more reliable than the scores on a conventional test, and it indicated the bent of a child's interests and the depth of his understanding as well as the number of problems solved. These were scores — as solid as anything one could get out of a Binet test — but scores on performance when the children were doing their best, not when they were frightened or confused or sullen or hostile. This is the sort of testing that I hope to see vastly extended in the schools of the future.

Now let me move up to grade 4 and a different sort of test that illustrates another facet of progressive education. The test was devised by a member of the ETS staff, the late Dora Damrin. She became interested in the group problem-solving processes that she had observed in elementary schools in grades 3, 4, and 5. Some teachers, she noticed, had the knack of fostering these processes, and their students became very good at them, almost without regard to their scholastic ability; while other teachers provided no practice in these skills, and their students were correspondingly inept, even when they were bright individually. Since it seemed important for eight- to ten-year-olds to acquire some skill in solving problems together, Miss Damrin decided to develop a test that would enable teachers to determine the degree of skill of this sort that they had developed in their classes. She devised a series of problems that immediately caught the imagination of every group that attempted them.

I shall describe one problem that fairly represents the whole series. Miss Damrin bought two pegboards about two feet square, with holes about an inch apart over the whole surface, and two sets of about 100 pegs in five different shapes and colors. On one pegboard she created a lovely flower design, which she cemented in place so that she could carry it with her from school to school.

When she visited a class, she propped up this design in a chalk tray at the front of the room. Then she moved a small table in front of it and laid the blank pegboard on it flat. Next, she gave each child three or four pegs. Then she said:

"Today we are going to have a test. In your regular tests, you each have to work alone, but you can't possibly do this test alone, because nobody has enough pegs. The problem in this test is to copy the design in the chalk tray on the blank pegboard, and you will have to use everybody's pegs to do that. You need to figure out some way to work together on the blank pegboard in order to copy this design in as short a time as possible. I don't care how you do it, and I am not going to offer one single suggestion. You may have all the time you like to talk it over, but when you say you are ready, I'll say 'Go!' and keep track of the time to see how many minutes it takes you to finish. I'll also take off one point for each peg that is not in the right place. Any questions?"

The questions were usually designed to extract some idea of how to do the job, but Miss Damrin refused to give any kind of hint. ("Sure, if that's the way you want to do it." "That's the sort of thing you have to decide." "Whatever you think is best.")

Realizing that no suggestions would be forthcoming, the group would usually settle down to making suggestions of its own and debating their merits. Some groups were fertile in suggestions, others barren; some relaxed, others apprehensive; some contentious, others apathetic; some vigorous, excited, and hopeful, others sunk in dull despair as they realized that they were being asked to do a job without being told how to do it — which seemed unfair to them. As might be expected for groups of this age, few took more than five to ten minutes in their planning.

The group that represented the lowest level of response was the one that made a desperate attempt to get Miss Damrin to tell them how to do the job and grew angry when they realized that she would not. After a period of silence in which everyone scowled at everyone else, a few made feeble suggestions that the others rejected.

After another long period of silence Miss Damrin asked, "Are you ready?"

"Guess so — as ready as we're likely to be."

"All right, go!"

The whole group dashed to the problem table. Everyone crowded around the pegboard, shoving pegs in indiscriminately.

They shouted; they elbowed and kicked. Miss Damrin had to terminate the test. Verdict: total disorganization.

At the opposite pole from this example is a repressed class that is as good as gold. The modus operandi of such a group is almost completely predictable. The only thing it can think of is for the first child at the right to go up, look over the design, put in his pieces, go back to his seat, sit up straight, and watch the next victim without making a sound. Then the next child runs up and does the same; then the next and the next, and so on around the room. Nobody is disorderly or inattentative, many show a good deal of interest, and there are few mistakes. The only trouble is that it takes a group like this about ten times as long to complete the design as a class that is able to cooperate. Verdict: complete individualism; no group problem solving at all.

Then there is the class with no real leader but with an aggressive girl who tries to boss the whole show. At the beginning she takes up a strategic position in front of the problem table and shouts, "Give your pieces to me! We can't all do it. Give them to me, and I'll put them in where they belong." It usually takes the group not more than three minutes to throw her out, but then the group falls apart because it has no real leader to take over.

I could describe many other patterns of response, but let us go on to the children whose teacher has taught them to work together. Their initial discussion may be summarized as follows:

"We usually do things by tables. Let's have each table do one color. Hand all the reds to table 1, greens to table 2, and so on. Pick a leader for each table who will put in all the pieces of one color before we go on to the next color. Dave, you be the boss and call out orders: which group starts, which goes next, and so on. Jane, you be troubleshooter. When anything goes wrong, say 'Stop!' and either fix it yourself or get someone else to fix it. You have the right of way over everyone else."

This sort of group usually finishes the design in four or five minutes with no mistakes. It enjoys solving the problem, but it also shows organization and discipline, for whatever rules it makes are strictly observed. Verdict: a group that can manage its own affairs as efficiently as most adults.

One variant of this cooperative pattern is what I call the slaphappy group, taught by an overpermissive teacher. It gets the job done not only cooperatively but happily, with a great deal of chaffing and joking, but it is unexpectedly slow; it makes a lot of mistakes; and about halfway through the operation almost all lose interest and begin doing something else—reading comic books, playing tick-tack-toe, even chasing one another around the room. At the end, just one small group remains at the problem table trying to finish the design amid rising waves of bedlam while a leader tries frantically to keep order. Verdict: cooperative, relaxed, happy, but needs a bit of discipline.

The performance of each class provided a mirror in which its teacher could see himself. Some teachers sat there beaming; others were so embarrassed that they wanted to sink through the floor. Each teacher was permitted to observe one other class during this test. At the end, the staff met to discuss the various patterns of response, without mentioning any names. The teachers agreed that this test showed what it means to learn to solve problems together. In fact, even a single use of this test resulted in a change in curriculum. No matter what these classes studied thereafter, they learned something about how to cooperate in solving problems.

This procedure furnishes a timely reminder of one aspect of progressive education that the present round of experiments in our schools seems to neglect. One might conclude from current discussions that the ideal education situation would be to put a child in orbit for three or four years with all necessities of life and computerized instruction, and he would come back a genius. My own view is that he would come back an idiot—not only because of the isolation and the lack of social learning but also because of the absence of group stimulation, rivalry, and momentum.

I am not enthusiastic about current efforts to set each child free to go as fast or as slow as he can. In my experience, if you set the average student completely free to go as fast as he likes in a field in which he has only average interest, the result is likely to be no motion whatever. I have taught in ways that set each individual free to move ahead as fast as he liked, but I have not been impressed by the results. A relatively small group of able and interested students may want to push ahead in one or two fields, but even these are likely to want to stick with their group in other subjects.

I believe that in the hands of a good teacher, group learning bears the same relation to individual learning that a symphony concert bears to a solo performance. Each is good in its way, but I beg our innovators to remember that a symphony has its place.

To illustrate how certain aspects of progressive education can be combined with even a strictly regimented program, let me discuss a remedial English course that I taught at the University of Chicago. Most of my students were in grades 11 or 12. As remedial material, we used a series of objective tests for reading and writing that a colleague and I had prepared for the United States Armed Forces Institute.

Each of these tests was built around a single topic. Students took them home and came to class with their answers already marked. Although they could answer 50 multiple-choice questions in the time ordinarily devoted to homework, time in class limited discussion to about 10 questions, so our first problem was to select the 10 that most needed discussion. Our procedure was to ask, "What did you do with Item 1?" and each student held up one, two, three, or four fingers to indicate which answer he had chosen. If nearly all students chose answer 3 and that was correct, we would say "Yes, 3" and go on unless someone wanted to argue about it. But if one faction wanted answer 2 and another wanted 4, we might say, "Mary, why did you choose 2?" "Jim, why did you choose 4?" "Does anyone else have a different reason?"

By this time, hands would be waving all over the room, and all we had to do was to recognize students who wanted to speak, and occasionally to ask a question in order to clarify what a student was trying to say. As soon as the arguments began to repeat themselves, we would say, "That's enough. We now have heard all the reasons we need to decide which answer is better. How many now want 2? How many want 4? The 4's have it. If you still want to argue, take up your point after class with someone who chose 4."

The reason I regard this class as an instance of progressive education is that it relied almost exclusively on students' arguments with one another as a means of improvement. We did this not as a matter of principle but because it worked. Whenever we lost patience and simply told a class which answer was correct and why, they promptly forgot it and never referred to it again. But if they argued with one another until they were convinced that one faction was right, they would refer to that case as a precedent in subsequent discussions.

It is well known from numerous observational studies that nearly all teachers talk at least 50 percent of the time they spend with a class; many of them, as much as 80 or 90 percent of the time. Arguments by students with one another are relatively rare. But if our experience is any criterion, the student arguments on clearly defined issues are what really produce change, while most of what the teacher says goes in one ear and out the other.

Now let me compare certain features of this remedial program with current efforts to individualize instruction. The 1969 innovator would want to put our exercises into some kind of self-instructional program, preferably moderated by a computer, a teaching machine, or a printed program that conceals answers until the student has chosen the answer he regards as correct.

Suppose a student tries the first problem and picks answer 2. The simplest type of program says, in effect, "No, 3." A somewhat more expensive model says "No, try again." If he picks 4 on his second try, it says no again, so finally he is driven to 3, but without knowing why it is supposed to be correct or why the other answers were wrong. To overcome this difficulty, the most expensive type of program says to the first choice, "No, turn to page 68." Page 68 explains why this answer was wrong, but it may or may not get at the reasons that led the student to choose it. Then it tells him to go back to page 1 and try again. Eventually he hits the intended answer and is told to turn to page 26 for the next problem.

I hope I have not caricatured this process because I have devised self-instructional programs myself for drill on material, such as vocabulary, in which reasoning is not very important. When learning involves reasoning, however, as in problems of interpretation and expression, the reasons behind a student's answer should have a chance to come out and confront the reasons behind the answers of other students who disagree. I can see no way for this to happen in a self-instructional program of less than infinite length, but it is easy in class.

The 1969 innovators are quite reasonable people and are likely to go along with this, but with two reservations.

First, they will say that a delay of even a second in finding out whether an answer is right or wrong impedes learning. How do they know? Well, from experiments with pigeons. Perhaps these pigeons were smarter than my remedial students, but these students showed no ill effects from choosing their answers one day and finding out whether their classmates agreed or disagreed the next day. I believe that this is a matter of expectation. If a higher organism has learned to expect its reinforcement or opposition tomorrow, then tomorrow is soon enough.

The innovators' other reservation will be that the class procedure keeps the lockstep intact. It is true that if students are to have a common body of recent experience to argue about, brilliant students cannot go as fast as they like and slow learners cannot take all the time they need. My class provided for some flexibility, however. My faster students finished each exercise in about half an hour; the slower ones took as much as two hours, but both groups enjoyed and profited by the discussion.

I doubt that any student who had taken part in these discussions would jump at the chance to finish this course in a single weekend on a teaching machine. The only reason for getting through in a hurry would be to have the chance to pursue other interests, and he could do that while devoting a reasonable amount of time to my course. He certainly would not gain any time by jumping to Humanities 2 without sufficient preparation.

It may be that the present demand for self-instructional programs and current enthusiasm for modular or computerized schedules are connected. Principals have been asking why all classes should meet for the same length of time. Finding no good reason, they break up the school day into modules of fifteen or twenty minutes and give each class or other activity from one to six of these modules in accordance with faculty decisions. That makes a terribly complicated schedule, but a computer can handle it easily. It makes a lot of sense and has had several good effects—notably, abandonment of the notion that a class must necessarily meet five times a week.

In the better modular schedules I have seen, the usual expectation is that most classes will have one large-group presentation and two small-group discussions per week, plus study on school time in "resource centers" (one for each field), where a student can have at hand all materials and equipment he needs for assigned or independent work in a subject, plus competent assistance.

The only hitch is that the modular schedule results in a large amount of unscheduled time, ranging from 40 to 60 percent at various ages, which is broken into little bits and pieces throughout the week, so that some students may have more free time than they can manage on Monday but none at all on Tuesday or Wednesday. To keep students from wandering through the halls and getting into mischief during their free time, some principals buy every self-instructional program they can get.

Now for another example of progressive education: During the thirties, Helen Parkhurst of the Dalton Schools in New York became so convinced of the futility of most class sessions that she restricted every subject for a time to one class meeting per week and later to two class meetings. That left a large block of time in the middle of the school day—from 11:30 to 1:30 as I remember it—when no classes met but all teachers were in their rooms to help students with their homework. The Dalton girls finished almost all their assigned work in school and were somewhat embarrassed if they had some left over to finish at home. It was a sign that they had been dawdling when they should have been working.

At first, while these girls were learning to make good use of this study time, they were scheduled to spend a certain amount of it on each of their courses. Once this stage was over, students were allowed to go from one room to another on their own initiative. As they left a room, the teacher would initial the part of the assigned work that they had completed and make a note of it in his record book. If this record revealed that some girls were falling behind, the teacher would make definite appointments for them to come to his room and work under close supervision until they were out of danger. This was the only disciplinary procedure necessary to insure that this study period was well used.

The girls soon found that it was to their advantage to do the assigned work in the room of the teacher who assigned it, because all the necessary materials and reference works were there, as well as the teacher who knew what they were supposed to do. When they left school, most of them were through for the day. They might take home a book to read or a paper to finish, but nothing like the staggering load of schoolbooks with which most students leave our public schools.

One day I cornered a group of these girls and asked them, "What would you think if the school decided to have five class meetings a week in every subject?" Their expressions made it clear that they had never heard such an outlandish idea in all their lives.

One asked me, "Are you kidding?"

I said, "No, many schools have such a schedule."

"When would we get our work done?"

I said they would have to do it at home in the evening.

"Why, that would take me until midnight!"

"Yes," I said, "that's what it takes my children."

Everyone gasped "How cruel!" and another girl asked, "Who helps them?"

I said that if anyone did, it was their parents.

"But are they qualified?"

"No," I said, "but they have to do it anyway."

"Why, the results must be ghastly!" She was right.

It is worth remembering that Dalton was one of the few progressive schools in the Eight Year Study whose graduates made better grades in college than the matched students from traditional schools with whom they were compared. Students from the other schools did as well as their comparison groups, but the Dalton girls did better. The fact that they were accustomed to something like a college schedule may have helped.

This 1935 Dalton solution to the problem of study on school time seems somewhat better to me than the modular schedule solution. It put all of this study time into one broad band in the middle of the day rather than breaking it up into random bits and pieces scattered throughout the week with no regard to the rhythm, order, or unity of a school day. The study time was the central feature of the program.

Although I admire the new resource centers and consider them a vast improvement over the old-fashioned study hall, they are often manned by just any teacher of a given subject and often by young assistants who may know the subject but who probably do not know what the teacher who made the assignment had in mind. Studying in the classroom of the teacher who gave the assignment seems preferable to me. For one thing, the teacher can take up individual difficulties that often have to be passed over in class.

I have now discussed five different aspects of progressive education that seem to me valuable and worthy of further development. I purposely selected examples in which I was either the parent, the teacher, or a firsthand observer, because when a person airs his views on progressive education, it's important to ask, "Have you ever done it yourself? Have you ever seen it done?"

All of my examples dealt with student behavior that was not exceptional in any way. It was only the treatment that I regarded as progressive. What are some of the salient features of this treatment?

First, all the examples showed an ability and willingness to enter imaginatively into the world of children, to see things from their point of view, and then to suggest things to do that they would regard as sensible and interesting and that always had an educational purpose—an objective. I hope that rather than being heavy-handed, the educational purpose was just a nudge in the direction of learning something that they would come to value.

Second, the teachers in the examples were not hesitant about setting a task, inventing a game, devising a procedure, or even designing a schedule that the students did not and probably could not originate. Some progressive teachers talk as though nothing in education can be progressive unless it "comes from the students." Getting students into the act is indeed important but not necessarily at the point of devising things to do. Students are the ones who play the game but not necessarily the ones who invent it.

Third, the teacher's role was limited to setting the stage, providing the necessary material, equipment, or time, and then acting for the most part as observer or referee. In the Dalton study period, the teacher also acted as an occasional helper, usually upon request. I would not assert that a progressive teacher never plays a more active role in learning, but in the activities that are most easily recognized as progressive, you will probably agree that the teacher is not very conspicuous.

When the disadvantaged first graders were playing with my "toys and games," for example, the teacher was not even looking at them. He was on the other side of the room trying to teach something to a group of eight or ten pupils. Dora Damrin would not give any hint of how to go about her pegboard problem, and after a class had decided how to tackle the problem, she said nothing and would not lift a finger to interfere unless they actually came to blows. In my remedial English course, every teacher soon learned that the most effective procedure was to keep quiet and let the students argue with one another.

I disagree with the doctrine that nothing is progressive unless the children think of it and then carry it out all by themselves. I prefer less sweeping conclusions. One would be that it is an unworthy ambition for a teacher to try to prove to his class that he is the brightest boy in the tenth grade. Another would be that it is not so much what the teacher does but what the students do that educates them. A third would be that a progressive teacher tends to contrive situations in which his students willingly carry on activities that educate because they seem interesting.

If the teacher has to drum up interest in an activity, the chances are that it was not well chosen. This does not exclude difficult or repetitive tasks, which children do willingly enough when they can see any point in them, but we must try to set up these tasks in a way that appeals to them. For example, the disadvantaged first graders spent a great deal of time with the balance beam, but I doubt that they would spend an equal amount of time memorizing tables of sums. Of course, time after time, even the best of us fail to think of an appealing way to approach some objective, and then the class simply has to like us and trust us enough to go along. A course cannot consist just of high points.

Critics have often charged that with progressive methods students do not learn anything, or at least not as much of the usual school subjects as do students taught by traditional methods. I can think of three reasons for this charge, which, by the way, is refuted by an enormous body of evidence.

First, many weak teachers who were having trouble with discipline in traditional schools excused their shortcomings on the ground that they were practicing "progressive education." Second, a few progressive schools during the thirties became infected with an early and incomplete version of Freudian theory and applied it to the education of normal children in a way that no psychiatrist would condone. Third, when the shortcomings of the average public school graduate became the subject of national concern after the Russians put Sputnik in orbit, people blamed it all on "progressive education," forgetting that this movement had never reached more than about 1 percent of our high schools. Progressive education was only a convenient scapegoat.

The Sputnik-inspired demands for superior education did not toll the death knell for progressive education. When my little daughter stepped on a crack to see whether a bear would come out, she was performing a far more scientific experiment than many carried out in traditional high schools. As long as there are teachers who are willing to understand children, progressive education will continue.

Schools for the Seventies:

Institutional Reform

Mario D. Fantini

IF WE are to profit from the educational experience of the 60's and not repeat some costly errors, we must develop a new set of guiding assumptions for the 70's and beyond. The educational activities of the 60's were developed largely as reactions to crash programs dealing with the poor—those classified as disadvantaged. An early assumption of the 60's had to do with the nature of the educational problem. The use of such terms as *culturally deprived* and *culturally disadvantaged* implied something was wrong with the learner, not with the school and its educational process. Such a diagnosis led to programs of compensatory education, designed to rehabilitate the disadvantaged learner to fit the existing school.

Later in the 60's, reports from the field suggested that the results of compensatory education programs were not encouraging and that the schools were not meeting and—without restructuring—could not meet the challenge of universal public education.

Today's young people demand schools that are relevant to their lives. Minority-group parents are asking for schools that guarantee for their children equality of educational performance. Business and industry need schools that provide the educational preparation necessary for a service-oriented economy. The makers of national policy look to the schools to fill the manpower needs of an advanced technological society.

In recent decades, we have asked schools to grapple with our monumental social problems: poverty, alienation, delinquency, and racism. Schools have become central to our national defense and to the frenetic growth of the great society. We have asked schools to educate everyone and, simultaneously, to develop the maximum potential of the individual child.

In short, while we have imposed qualitative demands on our schools at a *geometric* rate, we have provided them with the means to respond at only a simple *arithmetic* rate. Consequently, American educational institutions are incapable of meeting a

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series of complicated, though certainly legitimate, criteria. We are expecting an educational system rooted in the nineteenth century to solve twentieth- and twenty-first century problems. This irreconcilable discrepancy has resulted in disconnectedness, alienation, loss of confidence, and the inevitable retaliation of students, parents, business, and industry, as well as increased concern among government officials.

It is inaccurate and deluding to attribute this discrepancy to any one group, whether administrators, supervisors, teachers, students, parents, or communities. The problem is with the institution, not with the individuals whom it controls and determines. It is unfortunate that these parties, who are involved in a common struggle, have been diverted by conflict among themselves. Their disagreements squander their energy—energy which could be mobilized to generate the power necessary for institutional renovation.

Confronted with institutional obsolescence, the schools have reacted by adding to a base structure of education forged in an earlier century such programs as vocational training, special education, adult education, and compensatory education. The demands, however, do not call for additional layers on the old structure, but for a new conception of education—one which is functionally coordinated with the concerns and aspirations of the various publics.

Modern education should be tied to the needs of society, of groups, and of individuals, and to the encompassing growth and development of all of these. An obsolete educational institution handicaps *all* learners, teachers, administrators, communities, and the larger societies. Thus, we are all disadvantaged.

We are expecting the schools to accomplish a mission for which they are virtually unequipped. For professionals trying to respond to the challenge, the results have been enormously frustrating. Schoolmen have felt isolated, misunderstood, and often betrayed. In their efforts to meet expectations, educators have had to deal with the reality of available resources and with the constraints of existing organizations. To compound these factors, those farthest from the learner have been making decisions about his nature and needs; hierarchy and bureaucracy have severely limited the development of sound pedagogical procedures. The established institutional operations are paralyzing not only for the learner but for the practitioner as well.

As urban America becomes a way of life, the tremendous diversity of a concentrated population presents additional complications. To some city dwellers, diversity seems an exciting possibility for enrichment and expansion of one's own perceptions and experiences. These individuals welcome diversity, but a greater number of people perceive it as a threat. The typical city, therefore, contains distinct ethnic and racial ghettoes.

The urban school has traditionally considered itself the great homogenizer. It has embraced hordes of diverse populations and has absorbed them into the mainstream of middle-class life. Over the years, it has enabled the Irish, the Poles, and the Jews to be assimilated rather painlessly into life in the United States. The 1960's, however, have seen a philosophical revolution among "the unmeltable blacks," and ethnic awareness has become a popular theme among the young—both black and white.

We are just beginning to accept and acknowledge the fact that racism exists among highly educated groups and their institutions. Many of our automatic responses have been colonial in their implication and ultimately harmful to the growth and development of all children. In 1937, for example, the *Standard American Encyclopedia* (now known as the *Universal World Reference Encyclopedia*) published this statement: "Apaches: They were long the scourges of the frontier and resisted obstinately every attempt to civilize them." This statement is still found in the latest edition, which appeared in 1958.

The existing school is overwhelmingly unprepared to allow for diversity. Where, after all, does the standard curriculum come from? Perhaps a few teachers and a supervisor of a particular subject area form a committee to determine a valuable course of study for everyone. This handful of individuals, chosen from thousands in a large school system, and coming from four or five out of hundreds of schools, meets regularly to determine, say, the seventh or eighth grade social studies "course of study."

After sessions of discussion, this far-from-representative group proposes social studies activities for each and every seventh or eighth grade classroom in the city. They lay out the proposed material in standardized form; suggest objectives, content outlines, activities, resources; and allot time for each division. The central administration delivers final approval and the package goes to press. Each teacher in the appropriate grade receives what is customarily a handsomely designed document, and this becomes the official system-wide curriculum for that year.

Contrary to all we have learned about human behavior, individual differences, various abilities, learning styles, and interests, this package is an official proclamation that every child in the same grade will learn the same thing at once, and in the same time span. Of course, the administrative policy and ultimate classroom activities are rarely identical. Nevertheless, the document generates sufficient pressure to make teachers feel anxious about how much of the material they are "covering."

Who has not heard the familiar sound of "I simply must get to 1890 before the end of the term!" And 1890, much less 1960, is frequently left unfinished. Think of our own school experiences: Pilgrims, Pilgrims, Pilgrims, Pilgrims, Colonists, and, with luck, the American Revolution. Few teachers ever went further than the Civil War during an entire year. World War I, the Depression, World War II, and the postwar era were book sections that we flipped through on our own—sometimes during *another* class period devoted to Colonial America.

In a pluralistic society, diversity is an important value that our educational institutions should express. In the existing institution, however, curriculum is geared to uniformity rather than to diversity. There is *one* way of doing things. The students must be respectful and orderly in a classroom, adhere to the rules of American standardized English, and take the same tests. The total educational system has been ponderous and unresponsive to the growing aspirations of those who use the schools—both consumer (students, parents) and practitioner (teacher, administrator).

What happens when schools fail to serve the consumers adequately? Some consumers may seek other options—private schools, for example. Some may continue to play the game. Many others, however, are demanding change and reform through direct participation. In our urban schools, participation is presently taking the forms of decentralization and community control.

Decentralization does not refer to *administrative* decentralization, which is established practice in many large school districts, but to *political* decentralization (governance). The latter creates a new relationship between the community and the public schools in which there is a basic redistribution of authority and responsibility.

Under political decentralization in big city systems, for example, parents and community residents share some decisions but not others with a central school board. The same is true with the superintendent of schools, with the teachers and/or supervisors association, and so on.

Decentralization can mean a *federation of local school boards*, each with a limited authority over part of the total school system. Under this scheme, there would be a citywide school system with a central school authority that could have final veto power over most decisions that local boards might make or that could impose sanctions on local districts through appeals to the state. Procedures governing recruitment, selection, transfer, and tenure of personnel; budget; maintenance; and curriculum would be worked out cooperatively. Usually each group would have to compromise to achieve a consensus.

Community control, in its purest form, would shift to a local school board the bulk of the authority necessary for governing schools. Under maximum community control, a local subdistrict would not share decision making with a central school board; the local board would be *independent* of the central district board and assume the same status as *any other school district in the state.*

Since education is a state function, the local district shares authority with the state and is subjected to state regulation. There is, therefore, no absolute local control as such. However, under community control, sections of city schools—usually in the heart of the city—*secede* from the larger school system to become *independent school districts.* As an independent district a community is free to recruit, hire, transfer, and release personnel in the same way that a Scarsdale or a Newton could, for example.

The participants who lead reform in the 70's will be those closest to the action—teachers, parents, students. Participation of these three publics in the governance of urban schools carries the potential for triggering change in substance and personnel. If all that were to happen under this new participatory movement should be a shift in control, so that a new group controlled the schools as an end in itself, the educational institution would remain outdated. The hope, however, is that those seeking control will use their political energy to set in motion the search for institutional renewal at the local school level, where it counts.

The direction of the desired reform appears to be as follows:

1. The reform will call for a parental and community role in matters of budgeting, personnel, and curriculum. One of the chief criteria is the proximity of the decision makers to the affected schools. The chief political criterion is accountability of the program and the school system to the community.

2. The present heavy emphasis on cognitive subject matter must be at least tempered with materials that bear some relevance to the students' lives and with newer kinds of content and procedures that will help students to answer deep personal concerns and often to rediscover their own integrity. Curriculum that represents an alien culture must be revised. Evaluative criteria must

include ways of judging student abilities other than by middle-class-weighted verbal means.

3. School staff must vary along a wide horizontal spectrum, from the professional to the layman, the latter including parents, community residents, and students. Staffs must vary vertically as well, to include not only professional educators but also specialists from other disciplines and professions. The training of teachers must be with a view to community needs.

The direction of reform can be stated in another way:

1. All students will receive the kind of education that gives them the chance to receive higher education and/or career training that will lead to employment.
2. All students will develop their skills and achieve mastery of academic subjects through individually tailored programs involving the support of all kinds of educational technology.
3. The schools will serve the whole community, not just children. The school plant, open day and night, will be a center to which adults can come for advice and for training ranging from literacy to skills development.
4. Residents, including students, will participate in the process of developing educational policies.
5. Cultural diversity will be valued and reflected in the curriculum.
6. Greater efforts will be made to develop a positive self-concept in each learner.
7. Feelings and concerns about powerlessness and disconnection will become central to relevant curriculum. Children will be equipped with a richer repertoire of responses in dealing with their concerns.
8. The concept of *classroom* must be expanded to include the community, its problems and resources. Social workers, assemblymen, merchants, and industrialists will lend their talents, not as speakers in the school, but as clinical teachers in the real setting of the community.
9. The teacher who is most comfortable using a particular teaching style will be matched to pupils who learn best in that style.
10. Paraprofessionals, including other students, will assume major roles in individualizing learning.

Public education in America has evolved a common set of educational objectives but has thus far relied on one monolithic means for achieving them. Given our diversity and the individual right of choice in our society, it is possible that the participation movement will lead beyond decentralization and community control and toward public schools of choice, where parents, students, teachers, administrators, and other professionals will be able to select from among a variety of educational options, secure in the knowledge that selecting an option will not be a compromise in comprehensive learning and will not be a means for the practicing of exclusivity.

Behavioral Objectives:

Bandwagon or Breakthrough

Martin Haberman

FADS in curriculum development are not unlike those in the world of fashion: they emerge and are quickly in and out. Unlike clothes which can be given away, however, curriculum changes are often pushed into an already bulging school program. Revisions that are poorly conceived may be taught to youngsters long after the "mod" curriculum developers are back in longer skirts.

Before joining or pooh-poohing the behavioral objective approach, it is necessary to consider what it is and to lay open some of the common arguments raised for and against this process of curriculum development. Behavioral objectives are one means of conceiving the long-term goals of school experiences, as well as the purposes of the day-to-day instruction which lead to these ultimate goals. They are stated in a form that requires a specification of what the pupils are to do, under what conditions, and how such behavior will be evaluated. By learning specific behaviors, students are moved through a sequence of ever-increasing difficulty and abstraction that culminates in the achievement of the major generalizations within a particular established discipline. Obviously, behavioral objectives are a way of thinking and cannot be intrinsically good or bad. What makes them desirable or not is their applications. Following are some of the values and limitations of using this approach.

Benefits

Teachers and Pupils Have Clear Purposes. When people know what to do and what is expected of them, they do better. The teacher's planning is facilitated when he can specify his intentions in terms of pupil behavior, e.g., the child will add three columns correctly in three ways. Pupils are able to join in evaluation when criteria are open and demonstrable, e.g., Did I get the right answer? Did I do it a different way each time?

Broad Content Is Broken Down into Manageable, Meaningful Pieces. Global, long-term goals are a source of guilt rather than direction for many teachers. Appreciating literature is a desirable objective, but of little value as a guide for planning what to do from 10:10 to 10:25 on Tuesdays. Assuming that one part of the grand goal of appreciation is voluntarily to choose to read when given several appealing alternatives, the teacher can now frame a specific objective for a given time period: the child will select a book and read; he will do this with increasing frequency for longer periods.

Organizing Content into Sequences and Hierarchies Is Facilitated. As teachers use this approach, they will learn more about which abilities lead to others and about the relative difficulty of various learnings. At present there is little, if any, justification for the order in which youngsters are offered various kinds of content. What are the components of a particular piece of knowledge? What does the pupil have to know before he can do this? The major generalization, i.e., the basic processes as well as the key concepts, are broken down into their components. The most efficient, logical steps for learning these components are then traced back to the individual lesson. The exclusion of nonbehavioral objectives makes this approach plausible.

Evaluation Is Simplified. In most cases it becomes self-evident. Could he do it, or couldn't he? Grades and global subjective judgments are replaced by checklists next to specific behaviors. Can the pupil add two columns and exchange correctly? Can he skip? Can he identify the mammals? Can he reproduce a tone? Can he end the story in a different way from the author's?

Teacher Training Is Facilitated. Teachers can practice and become expert in putting their subject matter into behavioral expectations for their pupils. In essence, their in-service training becomes planning to teach their own classes specific behavioral objectives. The search for "ideal" methods is abandoned, and teachers have the much simpler job of identifying particular strategies for moving particular pupils to demonstrate particular objectives.

Selection of Materials Is Clarified. The result of knowing precisely what youngsters are to do leads to control in the selection of materials, equipment, and the management of resources generally. Television, programed learning, language laboratories, or anything else is easily evaluated in terms of whether it will move pupils to a particular objective more effectively then some other instrumentality. Teachers and educators, armed by knowing specifically what they want to accomplish, play the machines rather than have the machines play them.

Research and Planning Become Part of the Mainstream of the Educative Process. Finding the best means of achieving clear goals is the way to make use of researchers. Currently, educators are asking experts in design and evaluation the wrong questions, e.g., What should be the school's purposes and direction? Using the behavioral approach, educators will more readily define their own goals and then ask researchers more fruitful questions, e.g., What are the most efficient means of achieving the goals we have already identified?

Limitations

The Most Powerful Element in the Process of Schooling Is Social Interaction, Not Content. Teachers are accused by technologists in the behavioral objective area of not being able to think in behavioral terms. This is not true! Teachers think in behavioral terms constantly as they face the problem of how to get Joey Franklin to sit down, not to disturb his neighbor, and to complete a particular assignment. Experts who limit their thinking to developing behavioral objectives in terms of content rather than dealing with the range of youngsters' classroom behavior are reserving the easiest job for themselves. Teachers believe that these experts don't have useful suggestions, let alone answers, for their already highly clarified and specific behavioral goals. Teachers express the belief that the forms of living behavior demonstrated by pupils take precedence and pervade the instructional and learning behaviors.

The Interrelations of Content Are Internal as Well as External. Pupils organize content psychologically as well as logically. Though scope, sequence, and hierarchy seem to make sense, people don't learn that way. The three-year-old who learns that he must break candy into two equal parts before sharing with his friend has learned a basic concept of division long before he has learned to subtract. The best that can be said about the ordering of any content is that the curriculum developers have some rationale; it is naïve to believe that this is the best or only order for learning the material.

Skills Become Overemphasized—Generalizations Are Undervalued. Critics of the behavioral objective approach point to the obvious predisposition to value those aspects of content that can most easily be put into behavioral terms. Skills of notation will take precedence over the difficult job of finding demonstrations of musical appreciation, techniques of computing will be emphasized at the expense of reaching for new or untried applications of a mathematical idea, remembering the names of characters will be easier to teach than offering personal interpretations and securing reactions to them. In essence, this criticism is that the sum equals more than its discrete parts—even when those parts are more easily cast into behavioral terms.

All Content Does Not Fit the Behavioral Approach. The danger of emphasizing the technical over the general aspects of a discipline has a curriculum counterpart: subjects that are more easily framed in behavioral terms can take precedence over those that are more difficult. Not only will the technicalities of a subject take precedence over the basic and real meanings but one discipline can take precedence over another. Consider the likelihood that art will be valued equally with math in a behaviorally oriented curriculum.

Experts Become More Critical Than Teachers and Children in the Decision-Making Process. Neither child development nor the development of instructional know-how can have more than an instrumental effect on curriculum. What is to be learned can be developed by experts with no personal experience in schools or with children. Such a process is inimical to the basic nature of the process of curriculum development; there are things which *should* be done in school that lie beyond the range of behavior capable of conception in a discipline of knowledge. These behaviors derive from the nature of children, the needs of teachers, and the interaction between these groups.

This limited discussion has touched on some of the common issues related to the behavioral objectives approach to curriculum development. They cannot be ignored and must be contended with, since this approach promises to be the major vehicle for revising curriculum in the future.

Eight Goals for an Urbanizing America

Lyle C. Fitch

WHATEVER happens here or in the rest of the world in the final third of the twentieth century, American life will profoundly change. Our population will grow by 75 to 125 million, with the increase locating in urban areas. Between 150 to 250 new cities of half a million each will be the measure of minimum expansion, both physical and social, that must be accomplished in little more than thirty years. Growth of knowledge and technological potential deriving from knowledge will continue, probably at an increasing rate. The flaring discontent of Negro and other minority groups will also continue until they approach full economic and political equality.

Nothing short of catastrophic war will avert these forces or the changes which they imply. The great challenge before Americans concerns whether the forces can and will be directed toward improving the urban order.

Present trends of urban development hold out both promise and threat for the future. On the one hand, despite the glaring deficiencies in such areas as housing, transportation, crime prevention, health, education, and the quality of public services, urban life has improved enormously in this century. We have come a good way from the times when urban conditions were synonymous with periodic ravage by fire and epidemics, with muddy streets, corrupt and compliant courts and police, and large sections having no pretense to law and order. Measured by material well-being, life for the majority of American families has improved more or less steadily since the depths of the Depression. Per-family real income after taxes has risen by 50 percent in the last two decades. Educational levels have zoomed. In 1967, the proportion of the population completing college was as great as the population which completed high school in the early 1920's.

On the other hand, experience thus far gives us no basis for hoping that the present largely unplanned processes will produce efficient, secure, and beautiful cities. Affluence is on the rise, but so are smog, pollution, and congestion; and so are frustration, delinquency, violence, and other manifestations of social pathology. The highest rate of population increase is occurring among groups most hopelessly caught in the poverty trap.

Obsolescent commercial and industrial buildings, bad taste in design, careless destruction of open space, and residential slums manifest a failure to recognize the needs of the human spirit for variety, vistas, openness, and grandeur. Nor can we flatter ourselves that in the twentieth century we have gained the functional city or the efficient city, even by sacrificing the city beautiful.[1]

It is quite possible in the last third of the century to achieve greater variety and less dullness, more beauty and less ugliness, clean streets, pure air and water, and fast, comfortable transportation. These potentialities will not be realized, however, by way of the aspirations commonly ascribed to the middle class: a secure job, a house in the suburbs, an agreeable wife, and three lovely children. There is nothing wrong with such aspirations, but they will hardly suffice to bring forth the good urban life. Progress requires visions of what we would like to become — visions of efficiency, beauty, and social justice.

Over the objections of proponents of "disjointed incrementalism,"[2] I argue that the social-action analogue for developing and marketing products in the private sector is by formulating, debating, and getting consensus on goals that express the community's aspirations for itself. Goals provide the sense of direction essential in a purposeful, dynamic society.

We have not suffered for want of goal statements in recent years, to be sure, but these efforts have concentrated on special problems or subjects such as housing and renewal, poverty and conservation.[3] I share with many others a concern that, in overreacting to these most compelling, immediate problems, we will neglect other things equally important over a longer time span. Thus, it is said that today's urban problem is that of the Negro. I submit that if we concentrate on the Negro "problem" alone, we will neither be solving that particular "problem" nor creating the urban society and environment we should like to see in the long run.

The eight goals listed here represent my own sense of what is most important and reasonably comprehensive. They are not presented as objectives to be realized overnight but as suggestions of the directions in which we should be going. Moreover, in a society dominated by rapidly evolving knowledge, technology, and culture, these goals, or any other set of goals, will need to be revised and replaced as new needs and possibilities present themselves.

Goal I

An urban society with values, environment, and service systems that respond fully to the needs and wants of families and individuals; a society drawn to the "human scale." This society should be open, with freedom of choice, freedom to move up occupational and social ladders, and opportunity to participate fully in economic and political life. It should be a pluralistic society in that it honors cultural differences which particular groups may wish to maintain. It should offer a variety of ways of life and opportunity to choose among them.

I mean by "human scale" the qualities of a city that provide people with comfort, satisfaction, spiritual uplift, a sense of identification with the city and their fellow men, a care for those whose needs tend to be neglected in the hustle of the market place, a regard for graciousness in relationships, a care for beauty and grace in urban design. The city falls far short of such ideals. It is hostile to women and young children; it fails to provide a social environment for courtship, neglects recreation for adolescents, lacks trees and parks, unthinkingly destroys neighborhoods and with them neighborhood values and traditions. Relations between public servants and the public are commonly uncivil and not uncommonly brutal.

"Human scale" is implicit in the traditional American commitment to freedom. Freedom has been associated, in part, with that enlargement of choice made possible by the advance of technology, output, and income on education, careers, dwellings, recreation, styles of life. But today freedom of choice is suppressed in numerous ways. The city's many people who are impoverished as to education and income are correspondingly impoverished as to choice, forever strangers to many sorts of opportunity. Those who would prefer to live and rear their children in a heterogeneous cosmopolitan environment are frustrated by the predominance of homogeneous communities ranging from the racial ghetto to the high-income suburb. We need neighborhoods for the villager and the cosmopolite, for young people, for the aged, and for mixed age groups; we need communities of low density and high density, of single, multiple, and mixed dwellings; neighborhoods which are homogeneous and neighborhoods which are mixed as to income, racial, and ethnic characteristics; we need stable and changing, historic and contemporary communities.

Along with the traditional American ideal of freedom goes its necessary complement, a pluralistic society. But it is essential that cultural differences, where they are maintained, reflect pride in race, origin, and group accomplishment — not a sense of inferiority, exploitation, and alienation.

Such adaptation to the human scale — making the city more responsive to individual need and fostering individual freedom of choice of life style — will not result from uncoordinated market decisions nor from the actions of a myriad of governments separately providing routine services. It requires of business, labor, and other private sectors as well as public leadership a commitment to the values served by a city of "human scale."

Goal II

A national commitment to the work of developing the urban frontier, as pervasive and compelling as the national commitment to developing the Western frontier in the nineteenth century. Such a commitment must draw on federal, state, and local governments, business and labor, and educational, religious, and other organizations. It must be based on a heightened sense of common interest among all urban dwellers, with increased communication and mutual understanding across class lines, and a general concern for the well-being of each community.

Although the "cultural gap" between rapid accumulation of scientific knowledge and its technological application, on one hand, and the evolution of social and political institutions capable of coping with the new technological age, on the other, cannot be measured quantitatively, it seems to widen mainly because of the unprecedented scale and speed of technological change. From electricity to nuclear power, from the first adding machine to the computer, has been only a few decades, but the difference in corresponding beliefs, customs, and institutional requirements is epochal.

Technology has made possible the great population increases and the high-density concentrations of today's megalopolitan and metropolitan areas. These emerging concentrations of people, wealth, talent, influence, and prestige represent a new phenomenon of power and its distribution. But we are still trying to manage them with political forms devised for cities in the nineteenth century.

To attain goals as ambitious as those listed here requires effective local government, responsive to citizens' needs and wishes. But most local governments are anachronisms, characterized by excessive numbers of units, lack of public interest, and inadequate machinery for planning, policy making, and administration.[4]

Clearly, if states are to maintain their historic role in the federal system, state governments *must* respond more adequately to urban needs. But with a few important exceptions, most state governments have lagged in meeting responsibilities imposed by the urban revolution, refusing to come to grips with the problems created by immigration and poverty. They have deemed cities unworthy to exercise powers of home rule and have dragged their feet on needed political and governmental reorganization. State governments can assist in modernizing tax and fiscal systems and providing financial support to meet urban development needs. They must promote the organizational changes in local government necessary to meet the needs of expanding metropolitan areas. They must move into areas which, as a group, they have thus far scarcely touched: economic growth, civil rights, education of the culturally deprived, eradication of poverty, ugliness, pollution of air and water, traffic congestion, metropolitan planning, modernization of zoning and building codes, eradication of restrictions on technological progress, and assistance in raising the quality of local government personnel.

The federal government will continue to be called upon for direct and indirect assistance in obtaining funds for urban development and renewal simply because, as things now stand, the federal government alone has access to the resources necessary for underwriting the vast task of redoing the present physical environment and bringing up to par the nation's underdeveloped human capital. And only the federal government can take into account interstate spillovers of the benefits from and costs of public services: for example, costs imposed on Northern cities by the grossly inadequate education of migrants from the South.

The Congress, historically dominated by rural and conservative interests, has also lagged in responding to the transition from Western to urban frontier, despite the proliferation of federal assistance programs initiated since World War II, which have created the new profession of grantsmanship. In the first seven years of the 1960's, the federal government spent on net balance about $1.6 billion for housing and community development to improve the urban environment in which 70 percent of Americans now live. Agriculture and space each got $27-$28 billion; defense and war, $384 billion.

Federal and state governments can facilitate and assist in defining what an urban community wants to do and in mobilizing resources to get it done, but they cannot provide the leadership. Such leadership must come from the community itself — out of livelier participation in public affairs. In particular, the business sector has now been challenged by social imperatives and invited by the Administration to play a leading role.

Even the most active business and political leadership will come to nought without the interest and active involvement of the citizens. The metropolitan community as a whole will fall short of its potential and may deteriorate beyond repair if its citizens accept only its amenities and evade its problems.

To the majority of Americans the personal experience of urban living is one of more or less continuous improvement. Middle- and higher-income people are highly mobile; their roots tend to be in professional, cultural, and other interests rather than in the geographic neighborhoods where they happen to be living at the moment. Manifestations of trouble tend to be concentrated in central cities; the middle class can, and frequently does, escape by moving to the suburbs where its members spend much of their civic energies building fortifications against incursions by the poor.

Interest in urban goals at the lower end of the income-culture scale has been lacking until recently; the poor have tended to look to the great welfare bureaucracies, rather than to political organization, for assistance in meeting pressing needs. In both the central cities and the suburbs, political control has tended to be dominated more by the middle class, which demands less from government, than by the lower class, which demands more. Various circumstances—one being perennial financial stringency and another unimaginative leadership—tend to magnify the negative or veto powers of groups at the urban government level. In the urban political game, the defense has dominated the offense.

But new political winds are blowing in the forms of both violent protest and more extensive political involvement. The needs of those on the lowest economic plane are being forcefully articulated by people who want employment opportunities, better housing, more adequate education facilities, and a better social environment, beginning with neighborhoods free from violence, dope pushers, and vagrants. None of these things is revolutionary; all reflect existing middle-class values and middle-class opportunities. People caught in the poverty trap want mainly what the majority of Americans already have.

Goal III

Eradication of poverty and increase of productivity by:

a. providing job opportunities for all who wish to work and opportunities for able older people to continue contributing to society;

b. raising the levels and extending the coverage of social insurance and public assistance programs to promote incentives and stable family life, and to be more responsive to need.

In 1966, about 6 million families comprising 25 million persons and another 5 million unrelated individuals were in poverty.[5] The proportion of nonwhite households (families and single individuals) in poverty was 30 percent, 2.5 times that of the white (12 percent). The poverty roster in 1966 included 3.8 million one- and two-person households with the head of the household being age 65 or over (more than 5 million persons). The poverty roster also included 1.5 million women heading fatherless families with 4 million children under age eighteen. About 3 million families in poverty were headed by men under sixty-five, most of whom were employed full or part time during the year. Their poverty was due to low wages, intermittent employment, and large families (a principal cause of poverty).

Like the rest of America's population, the poor have been drawn into urban areas. Once there, they are confined by poverty and discrimination to large cities and to older core areas. Another large segment of the poor lives in urban communities outside metropolitan areas.

The proportion of poor people living in large cities is still increasing as middle-income residents flee to the suburbs and poor immigrants take their places. Thus, between 1960 and 1966, 1.2 million whites left the nation's twenty largest central cities, and 3.2 million nonwhites moved in. Skyrocketing welfare costs are one result: 7,000-10,000 people were added monthly to the AFDC program in New York City alone during 1967.

Poverty is a relative not an absolute condition—people measure their well-being by comparison with the population at large, not by how far they are from starvation. If we use a relative poverty line, such as 50 percent of median family income, we find that poverty has not decreased in the last two decades; if anything, it has increased.

The extent of persistent and rising unemployment in large-city slums is indicated by a Bureau of Labor Statistics survey of ten slum areas in eight cities in November 1966, which found an underemployment rate of 34 percent.[6] Lack of employment opportunities, or the conviction that they will be lacking, appears to be the greatest deterrent to both aspiration and persistence.

One of the principal demands from the slum ghetto is for jobs, and one of the principal causes of rioting is lack of economic opportunity. The notion is still widespread that those who remain unemployed in times of high prosperity lack initiative or are simply unwilling to accept work discipline or are content to subsist on welfare. In fact, the problem is far more complicated. It reflects, in part, the failure of the educational process; in part, lack of organization of the job market; in part, timidity of individuals; in part, separation of jobs from housing and deficient transportation facilities; and, only in some residual part, ingrained laziness or irresponsibility. Although blue-collar and less skilled jobs have moved to suburban locations, suburban communities fiercely resist efforts by Negroes to follow.

To conclude that joblessness is due in part to automation, and that income must be distributed on some basis other than productive effort is premature in my judgment. The job of maintaining the growth rate, building new cities and rebuilding old ones, and doing other necessary things will for some time require more human energy than we shall probably be able to supply.

There is no simplistic solution to the job problem. One main approach is making more employment more accessible to ghetto residents. A second is providing improved information on the labor market. A third is specific job training and other measures to equip and rehabilitate workers for available jobs. We also have to face the fact that low-pay menial jobs with no career opportunities are not going to attract, much less inspire, young people from any income or social class, even the lowest. The need is for more career opportunities which hold forth the prospect of climbing as high as one's talents permit.

Finally, the negative philosophy that attempts to shove older people out of the labor force as soon as possible to make room for younger workers should be discarded. To cite Margaret Mead:

> We have been living through a period in which the old have been recklessly discarded and disallowed. . . . Given an opportunity to participate meaningfully in new knowledge, new skills, and new styles of life, the elderly can embody the changing world in such a way that their grandchildren — and all children of the youngest

generation—are given a mandate to be part of the new and yet maintain human ties with the past, which, however phrased, is part of our humanity.[7]

Over time we have built up a bewildering profusion of devices for keeping individuals and families from complete destitution. The welfare system, however, militates against incentives to work, against stable family life, against effective education. It also fails to rescue from the direst poverty people unable to work—the very young, the very old, mothers of small children, the disabled. Average monthly payments for old-age assistance range, among the states, from $124 in the high state to $41 in the low state. For the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program, the range is from $51 to $8 per person. In 1966 about a third of the poor received social security benefits, but even with these they remained below the poverty line.

Clearly the whole income-maintenance system must be strengthened.[8] In June 1966, the Advisory Council on Public Welfare in a report to the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare recommended that public assistance be extended to "all people whose income is below the national minimum standard of health and decency, with 'need' the only criterion of eligibility." It should be possible to design a system that would create incentives rather than destroy them—a system more effective and coherent than the present hodgepodge of welfare, unemployment compensation, housing subsidies, and other income-maintenance devices. A foundation income for all households would not solve all problems, but it would be a start.[9] It does contravene long-standing notions about work incentives which are difficult to refute or to support with available statistical data. A great fear is that a foundation income would reduce the supply of labor. This concern springs from simplistic and questionable assumptions about the nature of work and why men work. First is the assumption that work is something to be avoided. Yet in the American culture, holding a job is part of the male role (from which follows the observation that denial of the opportunity to work is a form of social emasculation), and more and more women feel the same social pressures. Second, as machines take over both the ditch-digging and the dull routine, more and more of the nation's work is of the sort that gratifies the human urge to be of service and to be creative. Some imagination and conscious effort would accelerate this transformation.

The existing welfare system is one of the most effective devices yet invented for stifling incentive. For those families living in poverty who supplement earnings with public assistance and unemployment insurance, a dollar's increase in earnings has meant a dollar's cut in their welfare allotment. The 1967 amendments to the Social Security Act somewhat mitigated this harshness in the case of AFDC recipients by allowing them to keep the first $30 of earnings and 30 percent of the excess. Even so, the marginal tax rate—70 percent—equals the rate in the top tax bracket on income gained by other means. If a recipient is allowed to keep as much as 50 percent of his earnings, the effective tax rate is 50 percent.[10] (Similar problems arise under the negative income tax plan.) A foundation income to which earnings could be added would provide incentive for effort.

In addition to their other bad features, present income-maintenance systems based on detailed supervision and demeaning investigation are directly at odds with the American belief that government paternalism and coercion should be minimized. Of course, some control over such matters as insuring education and adequate health services for children is indispensable, and in some areas the need may be for more rather than less paternalism. Subject to these exceptions, a society stressing freedom and responsibility should not deny these values to the unfortunate; rather it should take the risk that those who are treated as responsible citizens will turn out to be so.

We have come a long way from the degradation of the poorhouse. We accept the principle that society owes all its members the chance of a reasonable start in life. We have not yet, however, related either the problems of an automated society or the possibilities of an enormously affluent one to the basic needs of all our citizens.

Some states, like New York, have already achieved a minimal income system in the sense that no needy person is left out. Pending a radical overhauling of the present system of social security, public assistance and other benefits in the nation at large could be strengthened greatly by raising social security payments to above-poverty levels, by reducing the discrepancies among states in levels of public assistance benefits, and by moving to eliminate the present disincentives embedded in public assistance programs.

Goal IV

Extending new meaning to the traditional American ideal of equality of opportunity by making available to all citizens:

a. lifelong educational opportunities, through a system designed to give each person incentives and facilities to develop fully his own capacities and to contribute to society;

b. decent and adequate housing;

c. health and medical services adequate to allow each person to achieve his full potential productivity and sense of physical well-being;

d. a variety of recreational and cultural outlets.

America's high and rising productivity unquestionably rests on its broad-based educational system and rising educational levels. Education is no longer solely for the young—what with the pace of knowledge accumulation and the obsolescence of knowledge already acquired, people will spend more of their lives being educated and will go back to school at intervals for retraining and updating. And there is a growing demand for study for self-fulfillment, for developing creativity and talents.

The most difficult and complicated task of American education is raising the levels at the bottom of the scale. It is a matter not only of providing better educational opportunities, but also of persuading the children of ignorance and poverty to want to be educated. Aspirations and incentives are even more important than the educational apparatus.

The environment in which disadvantaged children are educated, however, must be far different from that of most of today's slum schools.[11]

Supplementary and remedial programs must be made available to every person, young or old, who needs help. Present innovational programs, such as Head Start, are a step in the right direction, but so far they have reached only a small fraction of the educationally deprived.

Educational efforts cannot stop with the schools; they must reach into the home and the community. Indoctrination of parents and the cultivation of community attitudes are part of the educational process, as is employment which supplies motivation.

In the context of educational and cultural development, housing is not a consumer good; it is an essential ingredient of stable family life and effective rearing of children. At least a sixth of the present housing stock is substandard. These buildings are vermin-ridden and inadequately heated, lighted, or ventilated, or lack other minimum essentials for decent family life. The number of dwelling units started in 1966, however, was the lowest of any year in the 1960's. If the goal of twenty-six million new units over the next ten years announced in the President's 1968 urban message to Congress is to be reached, the annual rate of production must more than double. Nonetheless, replacing present slums with housing and other neighborhood amenities of below-average quality is an almost certain road to new cycles of slum and blight. Low quality may be a necessary concession to political expediency in the short run, but it is likely to be very costly in the long run.

It is paradoxical that in the world's wealthiest country health standards for a considerable part of the population are in some respects below those of other advanced countries. One manifestation is in the proportion of selective service draftees rejected for medical reasons—in most years, more than 20 percent. The importance of this datum lies less in what it implies for military recruitment than in its implications for the national economy and living standards. Poverty, with its correlatives of ignorance, bad habits, and lack of medical care, is an underlying cause of poor health, and poor health is a cause of poverty in that it reduces productivity and working time.

Health services are notoriously deficient in urban ghettos and slums, and even more deficient in rural areas. Such services as exist tend to be provided by many different programs which are frequently located in different places; people are often denied service because they go to the wrong institution, to the wrong government jurisdiction, or because they cannot pay even minimum fees. Some deficiencies are attributable to the growing shortage of hospital and professional personnel, but they also reflect bad organization, lack of attention to education, failure to train and use paraprofessional personnel, and other factors technically manageable.

As for recreation, there are already great deficiencies resulting from lack of access to outdoor recreation and open space, inhibition of water recreation by pollution and private enclosure of beaches. Slum and ghetto residents are deprived of facilities of all kinds. Possibly because of Puritan inhibitions about the use of public funds for fun and games, public recreation tends to be poorly represented in the competition for resources, even though American life and the American economy are more and more dominated by recreational pursuits and by the recreational industries. Ubiquitous television (a type of recreation), featuring the more exotic recreation habits of the affluent, constantly fans the flames of discontent by reminding people at the bottom of the extent of their deprivation.

Goal V

Extending the meaning of individual freedom to include:

a. freedom from personal aggression: security of person and property in public and private places;

b. freedom from the physical and psychological damage caused by environmental aggression, including obtrusive noise, polluted air, overcrowding;

c. freedom from the threat of uncompensated losses by public action for the benefit of others, whether in the name of public welfare or "progress";

d. freedom from discrimination under the law: assurance of opportunity for defense against prosecution, protection against loss of rights owing to poverty or other personal circumstances, and protection against exploitation of poverty and ignorance.

Freedom from personal aggression, obviously a first essential of the good society, is increasingly endangered in city and suburb as crime and delinquency rates rise. Although all classes suffer, the incidence of crime is highest in the ghetto and slum. Moreover, the poor suffer most. Even though ghetto and slum residents complain of police brutality, they also deplore their lack of security.[12]

Eradication of slums and poverty, along with other achievements of the good society, should substantially reduce the incidence of crime. The immediate need in most cities, however, is for wholesale change in the role of the policeman, in police technology, and in parole and penal systems. The kinds of change now being proposed are implicit in the suggestions that the designation "policeman" be changed to "human relations officer," and that the term "law enforcement" be changed to something like "public protection."

The concept of law enforcement and which laws are to be enforced should take into account, as it now ordinarily does not, the mores of the community. It is well known that the police are highly selective in the laws they enforce. Conventional police practices arouse the animosity of the community either by imposing locally unacceptable standards of law enforcement or by conniving in violations while mulcting the violators (as by levying on numbers and bookmaking operations).

It is no more than ordinary common sense to recruit the police serving minority group neighborhoods from minority groups. But added to the difficulty of finding and preparing minority group recruits who meet acceptable standards is their reluctance to go into police work.

The consciousness of environmental aggression also rises as changing technology imposes new nuisances and as knowledge grows of the physical and psychological damage to the human machine from noise, pollution, overcrowding, and other impositions. Environmental noise frequently reaches levels which not only frazzle nerves but damage hearing. The statement that a day of breathing New York City air is equivalent to smoking two packs of cigarettes is more than fantasy. And the economic cost, beginning with mundane cleaning bills, of stench, airborne dirt, and chemical pollution in the nation's largest cities is already reckoned in billions of dollars annually.

Congestion and overcrowding—vehicle congestion in roadways, people congestion in transit cars and buses, schools, recreation centers, and other public places—impose other economic costs and personal discomforts. It is well established by now that with most animal species overcrowding leads to neurosis and regressive behavior. Implications for *homo urbanus* have not yet been fully explored, but it is clear that environmental crowding may cause both psychological and physiological damage.[13]

The traditional principle that people should not be unduly damaged for the benefit of others and that unavoidable damage should be reasonably compensated takes on new dimensions as more and more people find themselves standing in the way of "progress." A case in point is the sonic boom: Imposing the boom on populated areas for the benefit of the relative few who would be using supersonic aircraft can hardly be labeled "progress"; for the majority it would be quite the opposite.

In theory, government can regulate much of the damage caused by private interests, or it can require private interests to pay for the social costs they impose. In practice, however, government agencies themselves are often the offenders in preempting private property, dispossessing people without adequate compensation, and imposing other social damages on the grounds that the "public interest" justifies such damage. Thus it is estimated that between 1964 and 1972 the Federal Urban Renewal and Interstate Highway Programs alone will uproot 625,000 families and individuals and 136,000 businesses and nonprofit organizations. There are serious questions about the equity and adequacy of many compensation provisions; in many instances, there is no relocation assistance at all. Most seriously affected are old or poor individuals and small businesses.[14]

If it is not possible to compensate within reason those who are damaged by "progress," there is good justification for not undertaking the project unless the public benefits clearly and preponderantly outweigh the aggregate damages. If some people are to be unduly penalized for the benefit of others in the name of "public interest" or "progress," the resultant controversies are likely to damage both the public interest and the cause of progress.

Not much disputed but often frustrated are the high principles of Western political philosophy and Anglo-Saxon common law that the law and its officers should not discriminate among individuals except in the interest of reasonable and constitutional objectives and that all charged with violating the law should receive equal treatment and protection. The sophisticated and affluent can protect themselves. The poor and ignorant, by and large, are without legal recourse against unscrupulous landlords, merchants, loan sharks, and other would-be exploiters; the law is usually on the side of the exploiters. Ordinarily the poor are unable to protect themselves against arbitrary treatment by the government bureaucracies on which they must so heavily depend. When they get into trouble with the law, their chances of obtaining adequate counsel, reasonable bail, expeditious hearing and trial, and other protection are far less than those of the more sophisticated and affluent. Recent court decisions respecting right to counsel improve this situation, but it is still far from satisfactory. Minimizing the extent to which exploiters can bend the law and take advantage of the poor and providing recourse against arbitrary action by government agencies which deal with the poor are more than just additional welfare measures. They are part of maintaining traditional American principles of liberty and justice.

Goal VI

Application of modern technology to the improvement of amenity, efficiency, and beauty of the urban environment, and development of new concepts and techniques for guiding metropolitan growth.

With the exception of television and air conditioning, there has been little hardware innovation for two generations which has bettered in any basic way the day-to-day life in cities. (The betterment is attributable mainly to rising real incomes and marginal improvements in existing household gadgetry. And there have been many "worsements" which are also attributable to technology.)

If one compares the vision, the daring, the mobilization of technical performance, the fruitful cooperation between government and private enterprise that characterize the program for outer space, it is hard to believe that the same community should deal so timidly and tardily with its inner space. The space program, uncluttered with existing institutions and vested interests, could set new aims and move forward expeditiously. But the methodology of setting objectives and organizing technology and science to meet them, assisted by new public and private instruments of collaboration, should be applicable to the urban sector.

One of the most fruitful applications might lie in joining public and private financial and technological resources to create new towns and entire new cities. The initial purpose should be primarily that of testing and demonstrating new technologies of urban life uninhibited by existing institutions, traditions, development patterns, transportation and utility systems, and land-holding patterns—all of which have frustrated innovation in and around established central cities in metropolitan areas.

Goal VII

Maintenance of central cities as vital, healthy centers of knowledge and culture, of management and commerce, and of residence for city-lovers.[15]

The role of central cities is rapidly changing in today's world of giant metropolitan areas and emerging megalopolises. One of the things that Melvin Webber and others seem to imply is that the concept of the central city is obsolete, and that modern transportation and communication will continue their decentralizing forces to produce more and more dispersal of activities and services. This view is confirmed in part by growth patterns in Los Angeles and other new Southwestern urban centers, but does not yet apply, I think, to urban areas of central cities with established patterns and traditions, institutions, monuments, and cultural centers. Moreover, the growth patterns of New York, Chicago, Atlanta, the Twin Cities, and other national and regional management and financial centers indicate a preponderant tendency for office and related industries to cluster. And there are many people who continue to value the central city for aesthetic as well as economic reasons. It offers excitement and drama in life, a sense of great activity, monuments, vistas, and cultural opportunities that can be found nowhere else.

Central cities do face many dilemmas. For the most part, they have developed to meet the needs of industry and commerce, rather than for living; they are not built to the human scale. There is also the outmovement of middle-income groups, mainly white, and their replacement by the poor, mainly nonwhite. For the latter, the city appears to be losing its effectiveness in its traditional roles of acculturating agency and melting pot. The latest waves of migrants to the central city, instead of climbing up the ladder to join other metropolitan residents, see widening gaps in social and cultural status, economic productivity, and stage of development. The job of revitalizing central cities is one of reclaiming people even more than of physical rebuilding.

There is also the cumulative obsolescence of buildings which cannot be economically replaced under present institutions because of the high costs of assembling land parcels suitable for new buildings and of demolishing old ones. Congestion of people and vehicles jumbled together frustrates the central city's prime economic function of reducing transportation friction.

The first and most important element of rejuvenation has to do with offering a greater variety of choices of residence and ways of life to people of all racial and income groups, in and out of the central city. This is the most effective answer for the person trapped in the ghetto and for the middle-class city-lover who flees to the suburbs to find amenities which the city should offer, but does not.

Separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic, arcaded sidewalks, outdoor play and recreation facilities on rooftops or open floors, and pedestrian shopping and recreational areas are all devices for bringing beauty, style, convenience, interest, and other values of environmental design to the city. New York's Rockefeller Center, Chicago's lakefront, Philadelphia's Penn Center, and Montreal's Place Ville Marie indicate some of the potentialities.

Social and physical rebuilding will not be achieved with dabs of urban renewal here, a housing project there, and an adult education or Head Start program somewhere else. Physical and social renewal and development programs must be concentrated in specific limited areas. Billions of dollars must be invested to build new towns in town.[16] The principle of the coordinated approach is recognized in the Model Cities Program, but the program thus far provides little either in the way of integrating machinery or financing. Compared to need and to the country's resources the funds provided thus far are no more than a token.

The immediate danger is that the cost of providing special services for, or alternatively repressing, the poor who are concentrating in central cities, to the extent that it must be financed by the cities themselves, will become one more force driving business firms and middle- and upper-income residents out of town. Fiscal reform to relieve costs must have high priority. But this is after all a matter of recognizing that it is a bizarre order of priorities which provides so little for restoring cities and so lavishly for destroying them.

Goal VIII

Metropolitan development planning for efficiency and aesthetic appeal, and for conservation of urban natural resources and regional ecology.

The specter of endlessly sprawling urban development, heedless of any human values save the immediate need for a room and four walls, unconcerned with monotony and lack of coherence—this is the prospect for most metropolitan areas in America, even today. Existing institutions and market forces do not provide for coherent relationships or strategies for mutual benefit between central city and surrounding region, or for efficient spatial relationships between residential, employment, and other activity centers. There are no mechanisms for assembling the vast amounts of capital and talent required for large-scale innovations in design, technology, or organization.

Any alternative to unplanned urban sprawl requires an orderly expansion of existing centers and new-town building. Catherine Bauer Wurster states one philosophy of metropolitan design:

> Instead of scattering houses, factories, shops, offices and services all over the landscape, we should pull them together into compact cities with adjacent open space saved for recreation, agriculture, and general amenity. . . . Suitable housing for a cross-section population should be provided, with more emphasis on row houses and garden apartments. A variety of employment opportunities should be encouraged, as well as bona fide urban centers. The cities would be readily accessible to each other and to the central city.[17]

The United States alone among advanced nations has no public policy for new-town building. For the most part, the few new towns in this country have been privately planned and financed and are necessarily small and partial. By the end of the century, however, the United States will have to build the equivalent of between 150 and 250 cities, each of 500,000 population. They will require a total investment in the magnitude of $3.5 to $5 trillion.

It would be only simple prudence to undertake with public and private resources a half-dozen or so "demonstration cities" in the next decade, using all the resources of modern physical and social science for guidance in building the remainder.

We also need new concepts of urban resources—open space, air, and water. Fields, hills and valleys, streams and wetlands purify the air, provide climatic and hydrological control, conserve wildlife, serve as spawning grounds for marine life, and affect urban man and urban environment in dozens of drastic and subtle ways. Such ecological considerations, along with the multiplying needs for public park and recreation areas, impose a new dimension on urban planning.

Economic Potential for Goal Realization. The economic potential is encouraging. The value of the Gross National Product in 1967 was $785 billion. The average annual GNP growth rate during the 1960's has been about 4.7 percent in constant value dollars though the rate dipped to 2.4 percent in 1967. If an average growth rate of 3 percent is maintained for the last third of the century, the cumulative GNP would amount to some $44 trillion in 1967 prices. A 4 percent growth rate, which many analysts consider not out of the question, would yield $54 trillion.[18]

With a 4 percent growth rate, assuming a population increase of eighty million, we could accomplish the following by the last third of the century:

1. Double average consumption per household. The increase might be more evenly distributed by developing a higher quality in education and training for the labor force and by moving toward more generous income-maintenance programs for those not in the labor force.
2. Provide new dwellings for all new households, replace approximately three-fourths of present dwelling units, and provide second units for approximately 25 percent of all households.
3. Double, by 1975, education expenditures per pupil; eliminate elementary and secondary school dropout; increase college enrollments by 50 percent.
4. Triple average annual expenditure over the period on public facilities, including transportation, water, and sewer lines, recreational facilities, health centers and hospitals, and so forth.
5. Increase federal, state, and local government nondefense expenditures on services by an average of 4 percent per year.[19]
6. Allocate 1 percent of GNP (about two and a half times the present level of effort) for expediting development of less-developed nations.

I have made some rough estimates of the amounts of Gross National Product required to meet such objectives in the last third of the century:

	Trillions of dollars
Consumption	27.2
Housing	1.6
Education	4.4
Urban public facilities (infrastructure)	2.0
Business investment (plant and equipment)	7.7
Federal government	
Defense	2.2
Other	1.2
State and local government (excluding education and public facilities)	3.1
Foreign balance and unallocated	2.1
	$51.5

A 4 percent growth rate would supply the demands as projected; a 3 percent rate would fall some $7.5 trillion short; with a rate substantially under 4 percent, demands on Gross National Product would have to be reduced accordingly.

Many things might deplete the potential resource pool. The most serious danger now apparent is the continued escalation of expenditure on defense and military adventures. A second would be a growing indifference of organized labor toward productivity or long-continued periods of wage-price inflation. A third is the possibility that as more employment shifts to service industries, the margin for productivity increases will diminish (although production of many services can be mechanized).

In my perhaps overly optimistic judgment, these factors will not preclude rising productivity and affluence. Whether or not rising productivity is used to achieve the kinds of goals suggested here[20] depends on whether such goals can win public consensus, and whether present prejudices, habits, and institutions can be bent sufficiently to implement them if they are widely accepted.

Already there is at least a half-formed consensus on all of the goals; on most of them, the nation is already committed to some measure of implementation. Policy makers and legislatures have addressed themselves to employment, housing, urban renewal, welfare, education, recreation, and law enforcement. The difficulty rests not so much with lack of programs or program objectives but with lack of knowhow. Moreover, the scale of effort thus far would not in another hundred years solve the problems which we now consider urgent.

Whether we will be mentally and socially nimble enough to adapt prejudices, habits, and institutions to the needs of the fast-moving age is another question. Here, too, I am optimistic. I recall what John Maynard Keynes said in the early 1930's with reference to the Great Depression:

> If we lacked material things and the resources to produce them, we could not expect to find the means to prosperity except in hard work, abstinence and invention. In fact, our predicament is notoriously of another kind. It comes from some failure in the immaterial devices of the mind. . . . Nothing is required and nothing will avail except a little, a very little, clear thinking.

With Keynes's assistance we were able to produce enough clear thinking to establish the means for eliminating the scourge of great depressions. The challenge now before us is to come forth with a comparable response to the multifaceted needs of the urban frontier.

FOOTNOTES

1. It is said that splendid and beautiful cities are not a realistic goal in a democratic society based on a mass culture, and that the grand cities of the past (notably medieval and renaissance cities) were products of autocracy. But we should not forget that the splendor of ancient Athens was a product of the world's first great democratic society.

2. See David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom. *A Strategy of Decision: Policy Evaluation as a Social Process*. New York: Free Press, 1963.

3. For example, see Rockefeller panel reports in *Prospect for America* (1960); the report of the President's Commission on National Goals in *Goals for America* (1960); "Urban Revival: Goals and Standards," *The Annals* (March 1964); and numerous publications and symposia such as Werner Z. Hirsch, *Urban Life and Form* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1963); Lloyd Rodwin, editor, *The Future Metropolis* (New York: George Braziller, 1961); the report of the NASA Conference on Space, Science, and Urban Life; and Leonard A. Lecht's study, *Goals, Priorities and Dollars* (New York: Free Press, 1966), for the National Planning Association.

4. For suggested improvements, see *Modernizing Local Governments*, published by the Committee for Economic Development, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York.

5. The definition of poverty is that of the Social Security Administration: The poverty line there varies according to size of family, number of children, and farm-nonfarm status. It is equivalent to an annual income of about $3,300 for a nonfarm family of four. This amounts to about $2.25 per day per person, of which one-third is allocated for food. Poverty statistics are occasionally attacked by apologists for poverty who point out a) that some households with incomes below the poverty line can draw on previously accumulated assets, and b) that some families on the poverty rolls at any given time are

there only temporarily. But the conclusion does not follow that the statistics necessarily overstate poverty. In other special cases, even an income above the arbitrarily defined poverty line may not be adequate for an above-poverty level of living.

6. The underemployed include:
   a. the unemployed (those currently seeking work)
   b. part-time workers seeking full-time jobs
   c. heads of households under 65 earning less than $60 a week in full-time employment
   d. non-heads of households under 65 earning less than $56 a week in full-time employment
   e. 50 percent of the nonparticipants in the male age group 20 to 64.

7. Mead, Margaret. "The Future as the Basis for Establishing a Shared Culture." *Daedalus* 94: 135; Winter 1965.

8. The 90th Congress moved in this direction in 1967 by amendments to increase gradually the scale of payments. At the same time, however, Congress took a backward step by limiting the number eligible for AFDC.

9. Under the simplest form of foundation income, every family receives a basic allowance (which may depend on size of family) to which all earned and other income can be added, income tax being based on total income including the foundation payment. Admittedly, we are a long way from that goal now, either psychologically or economically. To bring families now below the "poverty line" only up to the line would cost in the neighborhood of $11 billion a year. A foundation income averaging $4,000 per family would cost approximately $200 billion a year gross, though the net cost would be very much less since from the gross there would be deducted income taxes on marginal income, public assistance, at least part of the social security payments which otherwise would be necessary, housing, food, and other subsidies. The remainder would presumably be financed by adjusting income tax rates so as to bring about some redistribution of income.

10. Under the federal income tax on ordinary income, the 50 percent rate does not apply until taxable income (after deductions and exemptions) has reached $44,000 (for joint returns). For the affluent, this high rate is ordinarily held to damage incentive.

11. See Jonathan Kozol. *Death at an Early Age*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1967.

12. A public opinion survey conducted by John F. Kraft, Inc., in Harlem in 1966 found that in a list of complaints about neighborhood conditions the three highest were prevalence of narcotics addiction, bad housing, and crime rates (closely related to narcotics addiction).

13. See Rene J. Dubos. "Man Adapting: His Limitations and Potentialities." *Environment for Man.* (Edited by William R. Ewald, Jr.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1967.

14. *Study of Compensation and Assistance for Persons Affected by Real Property Acquisition in Federal and Federally Assisted Programs*, U.S. Congress, House Committee on Public Works, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, 1963 (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1964) p. 258; and *Metropolitan America: Challenge to Federalism, A Study Submitted to the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations*, 89th Congress (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), Chapter 4.

15. This and the following goal should be considered together. The metropolis is an organism of closely interacting parts and of policies pursued either in center or in periphery which interact at every point and vitally affect each other's success or failure.

16. See Harvey S. Perloff. "New Towns In Town." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, May 1966.

17. Wurster, Catherine Bauer. "Form and Structure of the Urban Complex." *Cities and Space: The Future Use of Urban Land*. (Edited by Lowden Wingo, Jr.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963.

18. The average growth rate in real GNP between 1929 and 1966 was 3.2 percent. This period included the Great Depression and World War II, when private capital formation for peacetime production was held back.

19. With 3 percent growth rate, there would be about $10 trillion less available, equivalent to about 13 years' annual production at 1967 rates. Even this amount (a total of $44 trillion) would be a vast pool of resources compared with anything we have known in the past. The total gross production of the American nation thus far is in the magnitude of $18-$20 trillion, but the amount of the potential difference does indicate the crucial importance of maintaining a high growth rate.

20. To a considerable extent, rising productivity will depend in turn on goal achievement. Thus skimping on such items as education and training or planning for greater efficiency of urban areas will dampen productivity. The 1966 annual report of the Council of Economic Advisers stated that if nonwhite employment and productivity were equal to the white, Gross National Product would be an estimated $27 billion higher.

Educating Teachers for Collaboration

Robert D. Strom

A PRIME incentive urging teacher collaboration is the educator's own need to influence affairs, to regard himself as a potent force, a person of significance. Although such desires have been common to men of all occupations throughout time, more than ever before their achievement depends upon acceptance of the collaborative principle. That people in general are reluctant to accept this principle is illustrated by the substantial disparity between the kinds of roles our society requires and the symbolism with which we are able to celebrate their values. For instance, even though the talents of the "organization man" are indispensable, the very term is offensive to us.

If we were asked to conjure heroic myths about salesmen, office clerks, or assembly line workers, it would certainly strain our moral vocabulary. Instead we prefer to honor the cowboy, detective, bull fighter, and sportscar racer because these types embody the virtues our moral vocabulary is equipped to celebrate, namely individual achievement, individual exploits, individual strength. Most of our moral references derive from another era, the frontier days when both measure and symbols of excellence stressed a need for independence, autonomy, self-reliance, being and making it "on your own." It is not that these traits are unworthy today but that their expression and relevance as an exclusive design for influence assume the bygone conditions of frontier life (Berger, 1963).

How an allegiance to time-honored personal qualities can generate feelings of impotence is seen in Green's (1968) modern rendition of the good Samaritan parable. In his version, a man driving down the highway finds a poor unfortunate person in the ditch who has been robbed, beaten, and left to die. The driver stops, cares for the victim, and brings him to the nearest motel at the next exit where he arranges medical assistance and leaves enough money to pay for the victim's convalescence. The driver then goes on his way feeling he has been helpful. But suppose the next week the same events are repeated and so on week after week. Under these conditions, the good Samaritan ceases to be a model of the moral agent and becomes instead the picture of an unwise and ineffectual man who relies exclusively on his own resources to correct an injustice.

He must go on to find out who patrols the road and what steps can be taken to prevent a recurrence of the crime. As soon as he raises such questions, the good Samaritan is inquiring about the community resources necessary to correct a dangerous situation. By adopting this procedure, he must no longer assume himself to be one of the few people with good intentions who by himself is incapable of effecting needed change. Rather, he continues to regard himself as important and accountable but realizes that to influence events the execution of his responsibility takes place in a different sphere.

By recognizing that our images of the moral agent primarily celebrate the righteousness of the individual, we can see why in urban America the symbols indicating our duties to neighbors are experienced less as wrong than as irrelevant and why so many people are perplexed not about what they ought to do for others but how to do it. On the frontier it was common for neighbors to travel miles in order to erect a new home for the family whose house had burned. Action was immediate, direct, and significant.

Today, however, our neighbors number in the millions, they are unknown to us by name, and the traditional method of help is inapplicable. It seems in contemporary society that the fulfillment of some responsibilities is highly social and political. What is required is not so much a person's strength as an individual but his readiness for corporate and social action. This presumes he has learned how to collaborate (Green, 1968).

A New Achievement Orientation

Just as the role of citizen seems to require collaboration, the same can be said for the teacher role. My own recent research designed to predict the success of beginning inner city teachers raises the possibility that, by omitting as an evaluative criterion the ability to achieve via collaboration in favor of an exclusive concern for the ability to achieve via independence, we may inadvertently be eliminating from education some candidates who could serve well in the classroom (Strom and Larimore, 1970). In brief, this work involved the administration of a large battery of potential psychological correlates to a group of elementary staff newly assigned to 11 separate ghetto schools located in a Midwest urban center.

During their initial year of inner city teaching, the performance of each participant was monitored and rated by public school and university observers to produce four criterion measures. By using a step-wise regression analysis as the test selection methodology, a parsimonious subset of psychological measures was identified, yielding a highly accurate prediction for each of the criterion measures.

The major finding presented for elaboration here is that while achievement via conformance is an excellent predictor of inner city teacher success ($>.05$ on three of four criteria), achievement via independence is not. According to its author, *Achievement via Conformance* is a California Psychological Inventory submeasure designed to identify those factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in a setting where conformance is a positive behavior (Gough, 1964). To score high on this measure indicates that a person is capable, cooperative, efficient, organized, responsible, stable, and sincere; he is persistent and industrious, one who values intellectual activity and intellectual achievement. By contrast, the CPI subtest *Achievement via Independence* identifies those factors of interest and motivation which facilitate achievement in any setting where autonomy and independence are positive behaviors. High independence scores indicate the person is forceful, strong, dominant, and foresighted; a self-reliant individual with superior intellectual ability and judgment.

In summary, when the ratings of a teacher-educator and principal serve as criteria, having more or less *Achievement via Independence* does not seem to influence the assessment of inner city performance, whereas to *Achieve via Conformance* contributes directly to recognition as an effective teacher. In other words, *Achievement via Independence*—the criterion for success as a college student—may not prepare one for the collaborative role needed to succeed as a teacher. After college, unable to accommodate the teacher reward system by which satisfaction accrues from united effort rather than grade-getting behavior, some beginning educators leave the classroom for other occupations where the competitive orientation still applies and the self is celebrated. It should not be surprising that persons trained to achieve alone later find it difficult to succeed together. Yet somehow they must make the switch. Operationally defined, collaboration represents the transition from student behavior and its reward system to behaving like a faculty member whose authenticity reflects mutual intention and risk.*

However necessary learning to collaborate may be, it is unlikely to eventuate in the absence of proper training. Yet for most undergraduates, teacher preparation seldom includes working with colleagues. Instead, common practice dictates a competitive, individual orientation. Collaboration is forbidden and the talent of others is viewed as self-misfortune. This procedure which produces self-adequate loners perhaps made sense in the days of one-room schools. Teachers then had exclusive responsibility for their students and found it unnecessary to get along with colleagues in faculty or curriculum meetings because there were no colleagues. Today, however, the knowledge explosion, availability of resource personnel, and the viability of group-initiated change combine to make unreasonable any teacher preparation program which excludes the principle of shared responsibility.

There is a disturbing phenomenon among teachers who are untrained in communal efforts. When questioned about some obviously needed change in the school where they work, they often reply, "Yes, I know it should be changed. But what can I do? I am only one person." That is the major problem. They do not see themselves as persons in a group; they have not been trained to perceive themselves as members of a faculty which as a unit can modify conditions within its influence. Their feeling of impotence or being unable to alter circumstance derives in part from the discrepancy between what a teacher has been trained for (individual competition) and what needs to be done to better serve children and effect institutional change (group collaboration).

This bears special significance for inner city educators in view of their need to cope with such a wide range in student abilities and the fact that their instructional influence is relatively unmatched by the family. It is becoming increasingly apparent that many more of poverty's children will grow up mentally and physically healthy only if we abandon that assumption which implies each teacher's talents are sufficient to meet all the needs of all his students. The beneficial effect of teacher influence can be greatly enlarged through staff collaboration.

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* To enlarge the target, there is little doubt that some professors remain students all their lives — students in the poorest sense of the word. That is, having been so extensively trained for autonomous behavior, they fail to perceive conjunctive effort as necessary for them. To exempt themselves from cooperative pursuit, such persons usually express their aversion in terms of academic freedom. Obviously, if one is himself unable to work with others, he cannot train students to value group enterprise.

The old cliché that "Knowledge is power" apparently stands in need of revision. It is paradoxical that some of the most knowledgeable people today feel relatively impotent and the more formally learned they become the less power they experience, while others of less schooling feel great power and exert much influence. Let us ask whether we have learned anything from the students who found that individual complaints about school register little change but that collective dissent yields institutional accommodation. Surely their lesson for us is not that noise or volume is power.

Have we learned anything from the poor who as individuals have found that rational petition is routinely denied but that corporate demand brings concession? Surely their lesson for us is not that violence and intimidation are power. These and many other groups, all somewhat less knowledgeable than educators, have experienced power and registered significant change because they have learned that cohesion is power; in community resides power; by working together people can accomplish what individually has been shown to be impossible. What educators need to recognize is partially obstructed by their orientation toward individual effort, autonomy, and independent achievement. Somehow we must understand that knowledge is indeed power when men of different minds and mutual purpose combine their talents and voices to collaborate in enabling child development.

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Forecast for the 70's

Harold G. Shane
and June Grant Shane

DURING the last five years, there has been a marked increase in long- and short-range speculation regarding possible educational futures that may lie before us in the remaining years of the twentieth century. For the past three years, we have studied approximately 400 published and unpublished articles and books in which such conjectures and projections occur.

These current writings clearly indicate that education and schools, as they exist today, will change drastically during the 1970's and will be modified almost beyond recognition by the end of the century. The paragraphs that follow summarize some of the more important developments that could occur in the next decade and propose some of the new roles in which the teacher is likely to be cast. In conclusion, we give thought to the question: For what kind of world should children who will live most of their lives in the twenty-first century be prepared? Here, then, as many scholars see it, are some of the possible designs of educational futures in the seventies.

Education will reverse its traditional pattern of expenditure. From the beginning, more money has been spent per student in higher education, with secondary education coming in a strong second and elementary education, a poor third. Preschool and kindergarten programs have not even been in the race for funds. But now, major support for early childhood education seems highly probable because of our belated recognition that we have spent literally billions at the upper-age ranges to compensate for what we did not do at the two- to seven-year age levels.

Now priorities for education of the youngest will bring to public education nonschool preschools, minischools, and a preprimary continuum. As nonschool preschool programs begin to operate, educators will assume a formal responsibility for children when they reach the age of two. We will work with parents of young children both directly and through educational TV programs for young mothers. And we will offer such services as medical-dental examinations and follow-up, early identification of the handicapped and deprived, attacks on nutritional needs, and — of major importance — early referral to cooperating social agencies for treatment of psychobehavioral problems.

New programs for two-year-olds will involve the coordination of community resources, under school auspices, to equalize educational opportunity for these children before cultural deprivation makes inroads on their social and mental health.

The minischool, as envisioned here, is one that provides a program of carefully designed experiences for the three-year-old — experiences deliberately devised to increase the sensory input from which the children derive their intelligence. Each minischool presumably would enroll six or eight children under a qualified paraprofessional. A professionally prepared childhood environmental specialist would directly supervise clusters of approximately six minischools.

We will probably build these small schools into housing projects, make them part of new schoolhouse construction, or open them in improvised space in convenient buildings.

The preprimary continuum is a new creation intended to replace contemporary kindergartens for the four- and five-year-old. This program presupposes that the young learner will spend from one year to four years preparing himself to perform effectively in a subsequent primary continuum, the segment of education now usually labeled grades one through three. The preprimary interval should sharply reduce the problems of widely varied experience and social adjustment encountered by children who are arbitrarily enrolled in grade one at age six regardless of their previous cultural environment.

Major environmental mediation for two- to six-year-olds, as described above, will permit schools to abandon the current transitional concept of nongrading. In the coming decade, a seamless primary, middle-school, and secondary continuum of coordinated learning experiences will begin to replace the nongraded programs of the sixties.

Here, progress and the time spent on a given topic will become completely individual matters, as one emergent design for learning serves all ages. The intellectually advantaged child, for instance, might spend only two years in the primary or intermediate continuum, accomplishing what most children would accomplish in three or four years.

In this personalized educational continuum, the question of how to group children will no longer be relevant. The child will simply work with others in ephemeral groupings during whatever time certain shared learning experiences happen to coincide.

Admission age quibbles, too, will become irrelevant after several years of minischool and preprimary experience. There is no need to group children for first grade at the magic age of six, since they would be phased into their primary school year at any time from age four at one extreme to age eight at the other.

Promotion problems will also vanish, since in a continuum of learning there are no specific points at which a student passes or fails; he merely moves ahead at his own pace. Grade cards are likewise destined to disappear: Evaluation of progress will be continuous, and a progress report can be made in a parent conference whenever pupil performance analysis is in order.

The school will provide more learning experiences that parallel or accompany conventional academic content. The creative and enjoyable will begin to vie strongly with the utilitarian and academic dimensions of education. Such paracurricular ventures as educational travel, school camping, informal dramatics (including sociodrama), enlarged intramural sports programs that stress mass participation, and engaging youth in useful service to the community are due to increase in frequency and extent.

Biochemical and psychological mediation of learning is likely to increase. New drama will play on the educational stage as drugs are introduced experimentally to improve in the learner such qualities as personality, concentration, and memory. The application of biochemical research findings, heretofore centered in infra-human subjects, such as fish, could be a source of conspicuous controversy when children become the objects of experimentation.

Enrichment of the school environment in the seventies — especially in the ghetto — to "create" what we now measure as intelligence by improving experiential input also will become more accepted. Few are likely to make an issue of efforts to improve educational opportunities for the deprived child. However, there could be a tinderbox quality to the introduction of mandatory foster homes and "boarding schools" for children between the ages of two and three whose home environment was felt to have a malignant influence. Decisions of the 1970's in these areas could have far-reaching social consequences. Although it is repugnant to permit a child's surroundings to harm him, there is no clear social precedent for removing a child from his home because it lacks the sensory input needed to build normal intelligence and, therefore, in effect condemns him to a lifetime of unskilled labor.

The next decade will see new approaches to "educational disaster areas." Most of America's large cities, and some suburban and rural sections, contain a central core that can only be described in this way. Damage surrounding this core decreases from severe, to extensive, to moderate, to negligible.

Up to now, perhaps, we may have spent too much energy and money on just the worst schools of these central cores. In such neighborhoods, we cannot create a decent educational opportunity until the *total* social setting is rehabilitated. In the early 1970's, we may find it both more efficient and more educationally sound to direct our attention initially to improving those areas and schools where educational damage is moderate to extensive rather than drastic. For such areas, immediate attention may prevent their deteriorating in the near future into severe disaster areas. Once the deterioration in these outer ring schools is reversed, greater educational resources will become available to help us close in on the ghetto schools where damage is severe or total.

It would be unthinkable to ignore the children who live in our worst educational disaster areas until we can mobilize the greater forces needed to bring these schools up to necessary standards of excellence. Therefore, until inner cities regain their socioeconomic and educational health, we often will transport their children to outlying areas. In the next decade, this will involve a rapid buildup of facilities in these areas both in terms of enlarging existing schools and of creating new types of learning environments. Removing children from inner-city problem areas has the added merit of stimulating them through contacts with children from other social groups.

Later in the seventies, the elementary school changes will cause the junior and senior high schools to modify their programs. Their curriculums will presumably become more challenging and interesting. Wider age ranges, increased pupil interchange within and between schools, and individualized programs built around new instructional media will inevitably influence emerging secondary school organization.

In the late 1970's or early 1980's, it is not unlikely that students will graduate from high school with knowledge and social insight equal or superior to that of the person who earned a bachelor's degree in the 1960's.

On entering college, these students will be ready to begin postbaccalaureate studies, and our undergraduate college programs *in their present forms* will be unnecessary.

If this seems farfetched, bear in mind that the young person pictured here will have had the benefit of carefully developed learning opportunities in a skillfully mediated milieu since he was two or three years old.

During the next 10 years, business will participate in education to a greater extent. Although many of their activities are neither widely known nor generally understood, major corporations are already contracting to tackle pollution, teach marketable skills to the deprived, administer police protection, reclaim slums, and manage civic governments.

John Kenneth Galbraith has noted that the modern corporation already has the power to shape society. Frank Keppel commented recently that the revival of U.S. metropolitan schools depends as much on the action of leaders of finance and commerce as it does on educators. And Hazel Henderson commented last summer in the *Harvard Business Review* that industry's expansion into such areas as housing, education, and dropout training is probably the best way to handle our central needs if suitable performance standards and general specifications are properly controlled.

The growth of a cooperative business-and-education relationship will be of great portent in the seventies as corporations both expand the production activities of the education industry and assume more management and control responsibilities.

The roles and responsibilities of teachers will alter throughout the next decade. Future-think suggests that between 1970 and 1980 a number of new assignments and specialties will materialize if present trends continue.

For one thing, the basic role of the teacher will change noticeably. Ten years hence it should be more accurate to term him a "learning clinician." This title is intended to convey the idea that schools are becoming "clinics" whose purpose is to provide individualized psychosocial "treatment" for the student, thus increasing his value both to himself and to society.

In the school of the future, senior learning clinicians will be responsible for coordinating the services needed for approximately 200 to 300 children. In different instructional units (an evolution of the "team" concept) we will find paraprofessionals, teaching interns, and other learning clinicians with complementary backgrounds. Some will be well-informed in counseling, others in media, engineering, languages, evaluation, systems analysis, simulation, game theory, and individual-need analysis.

But on the whole, the learning clinician will probably not be appreciably more specialized in subject matter disciplines than he was in the 1960's except for being more skilled in using educational technology. He will do more *coordinating* and *directing* of individual inquiry and will engage in less 1968-style group instruction. He will be highly concerned with providing and maintaining an effective environment, skilled in interpersonal transactions, and able to work with persons of different ages and learning styles.

Ten years from now, faculties will include —

- *Culture analysts*, who make use of our growing insights into how a subculture shapes the learning style and behavior of its members.
- *Media specialists*, who tailor-make local educational aids, who evaluate hardware and software and their use, and who are adept in the information sciences of automated-information storage and retrieval, and computer programing.
- *Information-input specialists*, who make a career of keeping faculty and administration aware of implications for education in broad social, economic, and political trends.
- *Curriculum-input specialists*, who from day to day make necessary corrections and additions to memory bank tapes on which individualized instructional materials are stored.
- *Biochemical therapist/pharmacists*, whose services increase as biochemical therapy and memory improvement chemicals are introduced more widely.
- *Early childhood specialists*, who work in the nonschool preschool and minischool programs and in the preprimary continuum.
- *Developmental specialists*, who determine the groups in which children and youth work and who make recommendations regarding ways of improving pupil learning.
- *Community-contact personnel*, who specialize in maintaining good communication, in reducing misunderstanding or abrasions, and in placing into the life of the community the increased contributions that the schools of the 1970's will be making.

As educators turn a speculative eye on the next decade, they must seek to answer a question that most of them have hesitated to face. For what kind of world should we strive to prepare children and youth who will spend most of their lives in the next century? We say this question is crucial because educational policy decisions in the 1970's will not only anticipate tomorrow, they probably will help to *create* it.

Recent publications in the physical, natural, and social sciences suggest emerging changes in society that seem likely to characterize the world of 2000 A.D. A number of future-think writers agree that unless unforeseen catastrophes intervene, such developments as the following are probable:

The individual's personal freedom and responsibility will be greater.

The IQ of the average child will be 125, perhaps 135.

Cultures throughout the world will be more standardized because of the impact of mass media and increased mobility.

Access to more information will carry us toward an international consensus as to what is desirable in family life, art, recreation, education, diet, economic policies, and government.

Cruelty will be more vigorously rejected and methodically eliminated.

Leaders will be those who are the most able, regardless of their racial origins, religious beliefs, family backgrounds, or lack of great wealth.

The worldwide status and influence of the female will greatly increase.

Differences in wealth and ownership between haves and have-nots will narrow.

Through the mediation of trends, society will begin to design or give direction to the future so that the years ahead will better serve human welfare.

The changes described above will open many more doors for educational leadership. During the coming decade, however, education must do more than just lengthen its stride to keep pace with trends and innovations. We must bring social perception and long-range vision to the task of designing and planning schools that can help bring about the best of many possible tomorrows.